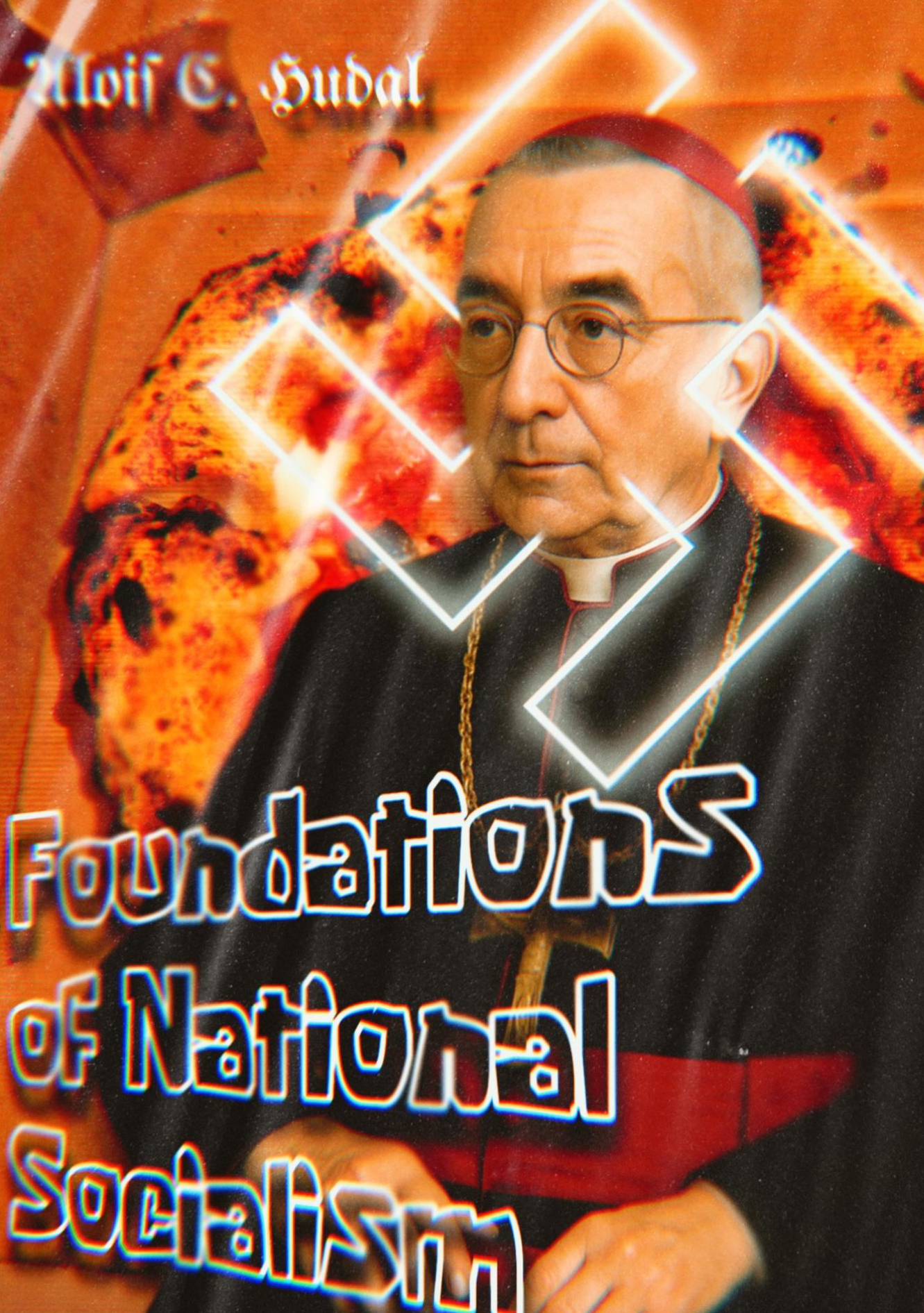


Mois C. Gudal

A portrait of a man with glasses and a red zucchetto, wearing a black cassock with a red sash and a gold chain. He is holding a book. The background features a large, glowing diamond shape with a blue and white outline, set against a fiery, orange and red background. The text "Foundations of National Socialism" is overlaid on the bottom half of the image in a stylized, outlined font.

Foundations of National Socialism

THE FOUNDATIONS
OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM
AN IDEOLOGICAL-HISTORICAL
INVESTIGATION

BY
BISHOP DR. ALOIS HUDAL

P.B.T. (PASSABLE BOOTLEG TRANSLATION) TO ENGLISH BY
WooDeeWoo/DAVION

PRIMARILY FOR IOANUL THE SEDEPRIVATIONIST ROMANIAN WHO
DEFINITELY EXISTS

Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf, pages 324 to 346:

"Whoever believes that they can come to a religious reformation through the detour of a political organization only shows that even the slightest trace of the emergence of religious ideas or doctrines of faith, and their ecclesiastical manifestations, is absent in them."

Speech before the Executive Committee of the Third International:

"The world revolution is in the greatest danger if there should be an ideological and organizational understanding between the Catholic and fascist Internationals. The Comintern must prevent this, and on the European soil, there will be a struggle between these powers."

Newspaper from January 1934

THIS BOOK,
WRITTEN WITH MY HEART'S BLOOD,
I DEDICATE TO THE INNER PEACE
OF OUR GERMAN PEOPLE.
HUDAL

I. INTRODUCTION

The author of this book, as rector of the venerable German national institution of the Anima, whose history is closely intertwined with the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, spoke the following words at the invitation of the Reich-German Catholic community during the great celebration of the German community in Rome in 1933. This event, which united over 700 people in the festival hall of the Anima with the Bishop of Aachen, the two ambassadors of the Reich, the leaders of the Stahlhelm group, the SA, the SS, and the Hitler Youth in a unique demonstration of national solidarity and shared destiny for Germans abroad, has lost none of its timeliness and significance despite later disappointments caused by certain individual National Socialist party supporters:

“In this fateful hour, German Catholics abroad greet the coming German Reich, whose foundations are to be built on Christ and loyalty to the people. With joy and pride, they join the German Chancellor in declaring: ‘One Fatherland, one dear, embrace it.’ The glorious past of the German people will come alive again. The more the unpatriotic elements disappear from public life—those who, in the days of upheaval, disgraced the German soldierly spirit and dragged everything great and sacred in German history through the mud—the more powerfully the great national idea shall awaken, the elevated consciousness of the unity of all Germans in language and culture. Thus, we will combat every falsely understood pacifism that would leave eternal chains on our hands, forged by ignominious peace treaties, and we will reclaim for German youth the truthfulness as the high value of manly virtue.

Even in the days of the end of the World War, when the storm surges of revolution swept filth over the German Fatherland, be it Germany or Austria, and seemed to strike the German Reich, the root itself remained unharmed. Thus, national conviction and Catholic faith, Christianity, and fervent passion for people and homeland are not opposites. Even though we, as Catholics, possess the right of citizenship in Rome, we can nonetheless proudly proclaim before the whole world: *Civis Romanus — Civis*

Germanus sum, because only from the unity of all well-meaning and religiously rooted individuals can the new great German Fatherland arise, for which the best German forces have longingly struggled for a century, like a fortress and island of peace emerging from the stormy floods of contemporary history.

On the foundations of this Reich, those words shall stand that are engraved in the Arminius sword at the monument of the Teutoburg Forest: 'German unity is my strength, my strength is Germany's might,' and those others that can be read at the heroes' monument in Vienna: 'Justice is the foundation of empires.'"

It was, therefore, a duty for the German bishop in Rome to take a stance in such a significant hour and to chart a path for German Catholics. Since then, the author, even before the party came to power and engagement with its official literature became necessary or at least advisable for many, has thoroughly studied the most important works of its leading figures, driven by a long-standing interest in similar national and cultural movements in the Habsburg monarchy, which coincided with his earliest childhood memories in his German border homeland. Thus, various ideological connections of a worldview nature became increasingly understandable to him, which must often have eluded many Reich-German Catholics because they could not experience the awakening of nationalities in Austria in the 1890s. Much that was already expressed in words and writings by German politicians, poets, and artists in the old Habsburg monarchy appears today as something new, although it is often only the intellectual currents of old liberalism, revived by those who have not yet found the synthesis of Christianity and national conviction and more closely interwoven with the idea of German unity.

Added to this were the worldview struggles that, since the 1890s, gripped all the peoples of Europe and soon merged with contemporaneous national movements. In the immense secularization process of the 20th century, which loosened every inner bond of the spiritual to immutable foundations, two myths have been able to occupy the religious void in people who emerged from liberal, Marxist-influenced schooling: the deified

nation and the utopia of the classless, nationless society. Nationalists wanted to heal the world through the national essence, socialists through the proletarian essence.

In France, nationalism was first developed into a kind of religiosity. Soon there was a mystique, a dogma, a cult that was “integral,” meaning, in our modern language, totalitarian, all-encompassing—a worldview. Blood, class, and soil became living symbols for Maurice Barrès ¹. This national movement further became decisively counter-revolutionary, that is, directed against 1789: anti-democratic in the name of a hierarchical order, anti-parliamentary in trust of the authority of leading elites, anti-centralist to restore full life to the provinces. The leading theoretical mind, Charles Maurras ², the leader of the Action Française, ordered these driving ideas and systematized them into a totalitarian worldview.

In the Great War, this nationalism seemed to have burned itself out. The world construction of the League of Nations might have suggested this. But the course of history took a different direction. Especially the Bolshevik upheaval of the post-war period in the German-speaking area brought about profound religious and cultural transformations and infused nationalism with new energies. Questions that were previously only cautiously touched upon in the lecture halls of German universities have today become common property. The word “freedom” seems to be working itself out in the tension between Christianity and the national cultural ideal, a tension that the 20th century will also bring to a decision regarding the form of the further leadership of Christianity in Europe. Not only the Catholic but also the Protestant heritage is affected in its essential foundations and dogmas.

Thus, an examination of the religious, philosophical, and general cultural foundations of National Socialism, the strongest movement of the 20th century, appears necessary and urgent for Catholics, but also for the

¹ *Scènes et doctrines du Nationalisme*, Paris 1901.

² *Enquête sur la Monarchie*, 1901.

faithful Protestant supporters of the party who have joyfully welcomed this great movement but often find themselves in a conflict of conscience because individual supporters introduce worldview problems into the national and social-reformist program of National Socialism that have nothing to do with National Socialism itself. This entanglement is all the more dangerous because it damages the German cultural idea within the Reich's borders and in its impact on the entire German-speaking area, especially on those parts that were cut off from the motherland by the peace treaties of 1919 through a policy of denationalization and economic strangulation, to be displaced from that sacred soil soaked and consecrated with the German blood of centuries.

Precisely in these parts of the German-speaking area, National Socialism was greeted with longing as a hour of liberation from national oppression. Not only Protestants but above all Catholics in the German diaspora have placed the greatest expectations on the movement and, at the very least, expected it to strengthen cultural ties with Germandom in the Reich. A strong Germany will never tolerate its national minorities in Europe being treated as they have been since 1918. Many have not found the bridge and have remained halfway; some reject National Socialism outright without even asking about the positive values contained in its program; others may participate, perhaps with painful feelings, out of compulsion and fear—of opportunistic people who accompany every political movement, there shall be no talk here.

But countless loyal sons of the German people, who see in National Socialism the last barrier to keep the Bolshevik threat to Europe away from German soil, are convinced that the great German unity movement must suffer in its momentum and conquest if worldview disputes are introduced. This book is intended as an attempt to pave a way, from a Christian standpoint, toward understanding National Socialism. The Church looks back on 1,900 years of historical experience, while National Socialism does not yet present something finished but is, as the concepts of blood, race, soil, and foundation indicate, still in the process of becoming, without historical experience. Therefore, the author deliberately avoids engaging

with the culturally combative statements of individual National Socialist sub-leaders and unauthorized assembly speakers, as some polemicists often do to the detriment of Germany's reputation abroad. Only the actual intellectual leaders of the party and the authentic bearers of the movement are given a voice in this work, no one else.

Party movements should not be judged solely by their program, which usually contains general expressions and formulations, but by the leading literature that has become, as it were, the intellectual face of the movement. Therefore, the author has not overlooked any of the major works of National Socialist literature. Everything of significance has been included to arrive at an objective judgment. Only those who follow the development of a political movement can also judge its ultimate goals and results. Thus, the catalog of works published by the party publisher Eher was consistently used, as it is considered the official directory of authoritative literature.

A judgment will be made in the following based on these writings, in which the ideal of the National Socialist worldview is expressed most purely. For this reason, the necessary literature for further studies has been provided in the footnotes of the individual sections as an appendix. However, since only the possibility of polemics in intellectual history can best highlight the essential points of cultural movements, the official party literature had to be supplemented by that of the critics of the Catholic and Protestant confessions.

Thus, this book is the first ideological-historical confrontation between National Socialism and Catholicism, and in a broader sense, with Christianity in general. However, since National Socialism is a living movement and much is still in flux, in many matters this can only be a beginning, not always a conclusive judgment. The aim of this work is, therefore, to prepare a clarification of fundamental principles, which, from the Protestant side, the old fighter of the National Socialist movement,

theology professor Caius Fabricius ³, has also attempted in his recently published work.

National Socialism does not aim to be and remain an ordinary political movement, as, for example, the German National Party in Austria was, which only placed the Greater German idea at the center of its program. National Socialism does not merely introduce “some ideas” into the world but a consistently pursued, unified sequence of ideas—in other words, a uncompromising system. Thus, Adolf Hitler could declare at the cultural conference of the Reich Party Congress in 1934: “The National Socialist revolution would never have succeeded if it had not come from worldview foundations. But with this, it will not only change the external life and power structure of the German people but also give a new expression to its cultural form.”

These words undoubtedly wish to be understood only on the basis of the party program, Article 24, and thus not in opposition to Christianity. However, the matter becomes much more difficult when one examines the interpretive attempts of various writers regarding these significant words of the sole authorized leader of the movement. Immediately, the question arises:

Is this worldview of National Socialism most clearly expressed, and is this concept to be understood only in a political sense or in a philosophical-historical-cultural sense?

The deeper and ultimate purpose of this book is, therefore, to seek an answer to two questions that impose themselves on every attentive observer of the National Socialist movement and whose uncertainty has led to so many conflicts of conscience, tactical errors, and misjudgments because people only considered peripheral parts of the program but did not heed its essence:

Can one even speak of two directions within National Socialism: a left-radical one that blindly pushes forward, has never grasped the essence

³ Positive Christianity in the New State, Pfischel Publishing House, Dresden 1939.

of Christianity, and strives for a complete deconfessionalization of all areas of public life and the relegation of religion to the confines of churches—and a right, more conservative wing that is aware of the value of religion, especially Christianity, for the German national identity and earnestly strives for a synthesis of religious and national sentiment that corresponds to modern thinking? Is Article 24 of the party program ⁴ alone decisive for the understanding and judgment of National Socialism, or is the scholarly literature often used as a basis in training courses, labor camps, etc.? In particular, is Rosenberg's book *The Myth of the 20th Century*, which, along with other documents, was symbolically placed in the cornerstone of the new party congress hall at the Nuremberg Party Congress on September 11, 1935, the gospel or catechism of the Third Reich? ⁵ Since Haeckel's *The Riddle of the Universe*, no other German book has provoked such extensive and passionate counter-literature as Rosenberg's *Myth*, although his views had been presented by Protestant theology professors such as Zöllner, Traub, and others from Germany's pulpits and lecterns (cf. the "Hölle" Schrempf, Zöllner, Traub!). It would be impossible to list even

⁴ It is well known that this Point 24 states:

"We demand freedom for all religious confessions in the state, insofar as they do not endanger its existence or offend the moral and ethical sensibilities of the Germanic race. The Party as such represents the standpoint of a positive Christianity, without binding itself confessionally to any particular denomination."

⁵ According to the *National Socialist Monthly*, 1935, p. 296, both were equivalent (cf. the essay "Alfred Rosenberg Responds"), "the officially supported and promoted struggle by the Church against the National Socialist foundations of the Mythos and thus against the National Socialist worldview in general." Already in the December issue of 1930 of the *National Socialist Monthly*, p. 430, *The Mythos of the 20th Century* was designated as the work that, in essence, must absolutely be considered correct.

approximately this literature here ⁶, but it suffices to mention the main

⁶ Also significant is another work by Alfred Rosenberg, *The Essential Structure of National Socialism*, Central Publishing House of the Party, Franz Eher Successor, Munich 1934, with sections on: worldview, religion, and politics.

On the Catholic side, the *Studies on the Mythos of the 20th Century*, fourth reprint, Gerbst 1935, are fundamental. Strict scientific rigor and calm objectivity characterize this book, which was also designated in the official Party organ, the *National Socialist Monthly*, as the best counter-writing. Siegler in the *National Socialist Monthly*, 1935, p. 294:

“The *Studies* are undoubtedly by far the most comprehensive and skillfully crafted of all counter-writings against the *Mythos* and, as they are written with the claim of strict scientific rigor, have not failed to make an impact in certain circles.” After the Catholic Church in Germany officially took a stance in its *Studies on the Mythos of the 20th Century* on these public issues and, above all, highlighted Rosenberg’s biblical-theological and church-historical teachings, the head of the Apologetic Center, Walter Künneth, responded from the Protestant perspective to the attacks and questions regarding the *Mythos*, Wichern Publishing House, Berlin 1935. Through the introductory sentences by Bishop Marahrens, this publication also gained a certain official character, further reinforced by the almost unanimous approval of the entire Protestant Confessional Church of Germany. Also noteworthy is *The Mythos and the Gospel. The Evangelical Church in Defense and Attack Against the Mythos of the 20th Century*, Publishing and Distribution Company “Contemporary History,” Berlin 1934, Luthardt Publishing House, Witten 1935.

In contrast to these works, the writing by Oskar Reichnauer, *Faith, People, and Homeland. Reflections on the Mythos of the 20th Century*, Publishing and Distribution Company “Contemporary History,” Berlin 1934, is scientifically insignificant but characteristic of the mindset of our time. The author, formerly the editor-in-chief of one of the largest daily newspapers in the Alps in Graz, writes: “This book has given me inner peace, the tranquility of my soul, and allowed me to reach the highest that can satisfy a human being. For that, I am grateful, for I have found God and my German people in its resurrection, carrying Him within myself and speaking the language of the heart with God,

works to provide further orientation.

Regarding the significance of this book within the National Socialist program, the well-known writer Wilhelm Stapel spoke in his journal *Deutsches Volkstum* (1933), p. 717:

“In fact, Rosenberg received his worldview mandate from Adolf Hitler. Thus, one must either admit that Rosenberg’s worldview is fully National Socialist, but that a National Socialist can nonetheless have a different relationship to Christianity than Rosenberg, or one must say that Hitler acted against National Socialism by commissioning Rosenberg. The latter, however, would be absurd. It is not possible to split Rosenberg himself into a National Socialist public half and a non-National Socialist private half.”

Noteworthy is the judgment in the *Völkischer Beobachter* of June 7, 1934: “‘The Myth of the 20th Century,’ which has laid a new worldview foundation, is so firmly and confidently grounded and so grandly conceived in structure and form that the new Germany can confidently build the paths of a new political and spiritual life upon it. One wonders in amazement how a work addressing such difficult and complex questions could so quickly spread to the widest circles of the people. The answer is easy to give: This monumental work is the fulfillment of a longing of all Germans. It reveals the concept of blood and honor.”

which is His language.” Also not uninteresting for understanding the spiritual leader of the National Socialist movement is the writing Alfred Rosenberg. *The Man and His Work* by S. Hart, published by the Party Publishing House, 1934.

Is the essence of National Socialism, as revealed in this literature ⁷,

⁷ This is how National Socialism is viewed by the adherents of the Nordic movement, which, however, was repeatedly rejected by Hitler himself as not conforming to the Party program. Cf. the journal *Flammenzeichen*, 1934, No. 32, Hans Hauptmann, "Separation of Spirits":

"It must therefore be clearly recognized:

There exists an irreconcilable opposition between the National Socialist and the Christian worldview.

As long as the ecclesiastical domination over the spirituality of large parts of the people persists, the indispensable spiritual and emotional foundation of the political people's community cannot be achieved.

This spiritual foundation of the political people's community can only become fully realized when all members of the people are finally freed from the magical-suggestive influence of the Christian churches; when they, since a religionless life in the community is not possible, unite in the adoption of a unified faith that corresponds to their Nordic disposition and places no obstacles in the way of their free development, having agreed on the basis of true people's community.

The elimination of Christian counter-currents, which disrupt the development toward people's unity, cannot be enforced through state coercion.

Therefore, the forces within the people themselves must be mobilized, tasked with freeing the spirit and soul of all Germans from the constraints imposed by the Christian worldview."

Similarly, the journal *Der Weg*, January 15, 1935: "German and Christian are two mutually exclusive concepts, and the designation 'German Christians' is a contradiction in itself, as a person can only be either German or Christian..." This same either-or is formulated elsewhere as follows: "Either one is a National Socialist and thus takes the rules and guidelines for one's actions from a conscience bound to Aryan morality, or one adheres to the Bible, born from

so unambiguous that it threatens the German people with a second Reformation in the sense of Goethe's and Hegel's pantheism, thus making a division into two directions entirely unjustified, or can the attempt be justified to build bridges and approaches from National Socialism to

Jewish spirit and Jewish worldview, which largely cultivates a 'morality' that has nothing, absolutely nothing, to do with Aryan spirit and grants the Jews, in many places, the claim to world domination. In that case, one simply cannot be a National Socialist. There is no third option!"

Christianity? ⁸ In other words, must the worldview struggle be inherently

⁸ Catholics and Protestants made such attempts in the first year of National Socialism, e.g., Kurt Eckhardt, *Conversion or Turning Point, Reflections on National Socialism*, pp. 46–54, J.G. Lehmann Publishing House, Munich 1931; Lortz, *National Socialism and the Church*, supplement to his church history, p. 39: “National Socialism was long considered anti-Catholic. This opinion was, however, merely a misunderstanding born of prejudice:

1. due to ignorance of the positive program of National Socialism, as it had already been authentically laid out in Hitler’s book *Mein Kampf* since 1926;
2. due to a confusion of the National Socialist propaganda and certain ‘reformers’ of Germanic-pagan or cultural-critical nature who attached themselves to the National Socialist movement with the core of the movement;
3. due to a certain confusion of political Catholicism as a religious and spiritual idea. This misunderstanding was definitively dispelled by the pastoral letter of the German bishops at Pentecost 1933 and by the Concordat of 1933 between the Holy See and the National Socialist government of Germany.

A comparison of the results of our analyses of the 19th century and the present with the fundamental ideas and tendencies of National Socialism shows to what extraordinary extent and sense National Socialism is the fulfillment of the times and organically grows from it as the crowning of the deepest aspirations of the era, and that in it the outlined fundamental ideas break into reality with elemental force and reshape life in its entire breadth, imprinting upon it the unmistakable seal of its calling. This also further shows that we now have the right to speak of a true ‘turning point’ that will remain beyond all episodic events: the opening of a new era in the grand sense. If we recognize the hour of our duty, this era (despite possible setbacks, perhaps even confessional struggles) will serve the cause of religion and the Church and be well-equipped for the fight against godlessness.”

As fundamental affinities between Catholicism and National Socialism, Lortz designates the following:

a) Both are, in essence, resolute enemies of Bolshevism, liberalism, and relativism—these spiritually debilitating diseases of the time that lead to dissolution and are the primary adversaries of the Church's work. The foundational concepts of true freedom and authority, bound (in service to the people) for National Socialism, correspond precisely to the demands taught by Gregory XVI and Pius IX in the 19th century under the scornful gaze of the entire so-called progressive world; additionally, the opposition to Freemasonry.

b) A shared struggle against the godless movement, public immorality, and the corrosive egalitarianism that destroys true life; for a meaningful and fruitful, divinely ordained structure of human society and for the organic reconstruction of society demanded by Leo XIII and Pius XI (Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*); advocacy for the right of manual laborers and farmers to a dignified existence; against the unnaturalness and lack of tradition in modern large cities and factory towns.

c) Through its Christian fundamental demand: the common good takes precedence over individual gain; through the strong emphasis on the primacy of the community over the individual; through the recognition of the indispensability of political form, from which the individual can live their deepest life; through the construction of all life on the foundation of obedience and authority (not on the mechanistic principle of numbers or majority rule)—National Socialism offers both an important complement to the particular Germanic human type and, at the same time, approaches its inner disposition to Catholicism (living from objective doctrine and sacramental grace).

d) Perhaps most importantly: National Socialism is a confession. In contrast to the all-destroying doubt and unbelief, it brings back to the broadest circles the experience that a faithful disposition is not something doubtful or even inferior, as liberalism had taught society to believe, but rather something that wholly fulfills the human being. Although the divine Church will never identify itself with any movement, it can do no other than gratefully acknowledge this powerful ally in the fight against godless nationalism.

These efforts also include the publication series Reich and Church, Aschenborff, Münster in Westphalia; Michael Schmaus, *Encounter Between Catholic Christianity and the National Socialist Worldview*; Joseph Lortz, *Catholic Access to National Socialism, Seen from a Church-Historical Perspective*. This publication series was intended to open access to National Socialism for those faithful Catholics who, for reasons of conscience, had been skeptical of it until the revolution. To this end, both authors emphasize how much common intellectual ground National Socialism and Catholicism share. Lortz proceeds more from historical and contemporary perspectives, while Schmaus starts more from fundamental principles. According to both authors, Catholicism and National Socialism particularly share an emphasis on community, authority, and reverence for what has been established.

Similar words were spoken at a press reception by State Secretary Gausser, who was also the Reich Leader of the Working Community of Catholic Germans (*Political Observer*, March 9, 1934, more precisely September):

“The Catholic worldview is, in essence, related to National Socialism in fundamental questions. The Catholic person must only free themselves from the fears, inhibitions, and notions imposed by the era of parties and parliamentarism! The Catholic person must recognize the poison that political opportunists irresponsibly instilled in them for years. Those who conducted political business with Catholicism, in the long run, placed this Catholicism—often merely feigned rather than lived—on a foundation that contradicted the religious sensibilities of the broad masses at heart. They were well on their way to doing a disservice to the Catholic religion and its faithful in the end. We, who helped prevent this development, are today accused of being hostile to religion. This is an injustice that—if not soon corrected—can exact a terrible revenge.”

Also noteworthy is the writing by Walter Grundmann, *God and the Nation*, Buchhandlung Publishing House, 1933. “An Evangelical Word on the Essence of National Socialism and Its Significance Through Alfred Rosenberg.” Essentially, therefore, two words: one about National Socialism and one to National Socialism. The word about National Socialism provides a concise but excellent overview of the National Socialist view of history. It aims to highlight and make

linked to National Socialism, or would it not be possible to develop this great movement in the sense of its origins as a purely political program that seeks only Germany's greatness but leaves the religious sphere of its followers untouched as an inviolable sanctuary?

Has National Socialism not also brought good, valuable impulses to the German people, so that for this reason alone, support for the movement by religiously positively inclined individuals is not only desirable but absolutely necessary to achieve religious clarification, above all the separation of the purely political from the worldview-related, which Hitler, in his book *Mein Kampf*, decisively outlined for the party with his thoughts on religion, politics, worldview, and the Rome movement? Does not the word of St. Thomas Aquinas also apply to this movement, that even in the errors and mistakes of humanity, something of the truth always shines through? "Impossibile est esse aliquam cognitionem, quae totaliter sit falsa, absque admixtione alicuius veritatis... aliqua vera continet, per quae receptibilis redditur." ("It is impossible for there to be any knowledge that is entirely false without some admixture of truth... without moments of truth through which it is made acceptable.") *Summa Theologiae*, II/II, q. 172, a. 6 c.

comprehensible the saga and essence of National Socialism and is primarily addressed to ecclesiastical and reserved Christian circles. The word to National Socialism seeks to admonish it to cast off the shackles of liberalism, even in religious matters, and to return to that great community-forming and responsibility-raising power: God.

The author strives for a reconciliation between National Socialist thinking and Christian doctrine, including Christian worldview doctrine. In this context, a serious, commendable engagement with Alfred Rosenberg's more comprehensive evaluation of the situation. Grundmann believes in a dependence of spiritual questions on racial conditions but explains the Christian world religion primarily from the spirit.

The assessment of these reconciliation attempts from the Christian perspective follows in later sections of the book.

How valuable, for example, are the following program points of National Socialism, which, though partly not new and expressed decades earlier by far-sighted personalities, were completely buried in the mire of the post-war crisis: the community of the people transcending divisive obstacles; language as the spiritual space of the nation; the strong longing for a new German life ideal; the awareness of the German destiny in history; the connection to one's own race; the attempt to address the Jewish question; care for a racially healthy German offspring; the abolition of the party system; the elimination of the excessive mixing of religion and politics; family care; the wealth of children as an honor and national pride; truthfulness to defend the vital demands of German politics against a Europe bristling with weapons; the sacrificial commitment to the German community of destiny; the Reich idea; the preparatory renewal of the education system; the corporative idea; the aristocratic leadership principle; settlement and labor camps; population policy—all this is conservative intellectual property that must be counted among the strong, creative forces of the movement.

Above all, this spiritual movement has brought the German people the rejection of the human rights ideology that underpinned the Weimar structure, as well as the destruction of belief in formal legal constructions, in the dialectics of the previous parliamentary life, and in democracy. National Socialism thus belongs to the ideological movements of the 20th century and can only be recognized and judged in its essence in the context of the entire developmental line of the 20th century. In history, there are no abrupt transitions, no emergence from itself alone. Everything is rooted in preceding ideas and currents. Just as Italian Fascism and Russian Bolshevism are, the national movement in Germany is not only a conclusion but the beginning of a cultural turning point, the blossoming of a spiritual development that reaches back decades and whose course was often not heeded by those who could not closely follow the nationalism in the peculiar form of Austria, Bavaria, and Baden or the religious disruption of Protestantism through the science of the 19th century. Rosenberg's works, in particular, are a classic example of this. They are the precipitate of

numerous preceding errors and one-sided historical interpretations, a true Pandora's box of strange insights, inner constructions, and peculiar views on the development of races and religions.

The author's book, therefore, provides a completely dispassionate, sober presentation from an ideological-historical standpoint. It raises no accusations, engages in no purposeless polemics, and constructs no illusions that would benefit neither Christianity nor the National Socialist movement. The book further wishes to be taken as a whole. Whoever tears individual passages, sections, or formulations out of context and uses them for one-sided propaganda would serve neither the German cause nor the purpose of this book. Its aim is rather to make the great movement more understandable as an inevitable result of the preceding intellectual struggles within the German people and of the unprecedented chaotic treatment that the German people have experienced in foreign policy since 1918, which has significantly contributed to the German imperialism of nation and class. In a Christian Europe, there can be no permanent distinctions between peoples as the peace treaties intended to establish for eternity.

But the aim of this work is also to judge National Socialism by the touchstone of the clarity of Catholic doctrine. Thus, the following work serves clarification, which, in a time of great conceptual confusion and historical distortion, must be welcomed by everyone who is honest about the German people and Christianity. It should help ensure that the national movement frees itself from worldview errors that were initially not or only slightly, and today not essentially, connected with it and that, despite a powerfully built organization, threaten the inner strength of National Socialism, to which Providence has entrusted the great task in Europe, alongside Fascism, to form a solid bulwark against the floodwaves of Asian cultural Bolshevism that today threaten all states and peoples equally. Even organization cannot replace a solid foundation for the long term. Only in this way can the German longing of centuries become a living reality—the cultural unification of the Germans in the European space, without a millennium of German history in the shadow of Christianity having to collapse.

Thus, this work is dedicated to the two noble ideas that should be the centerpiece of the life and work of every German-speaking Catholic: *Ecclesiae et Nationi*—to the Church and the German people.

Rome, July 11, 1936, the day of the reconciliation of Germany and Austria.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MOVEMENT

The intellectual homeland of National Socialism, if one disregards the more distant pioneers of the national cause such as Fichte, Arndt, Jahn, and Goethe, who were both German and Christian in their convictions, is not Germany itself but rather old Austria—and even then, only a specific region of the Habsburg monarchy, defined by the territories of Styria, Carinthia, and the German-settled southern regions (Bohemia, Moravia). The national idea had come alive early in this multi-ethnic state. A book printing law gathered like-minded individuals there for a struggle centered on national identity and a political worldview against Czechs and Marxists. They founded the “German Workers’ Party” in Austria, from which the German National Socialist movement emerged in 1917. Its programmatic thinker, Engineer Rudolf Jung, wrote the book *On National Socialism* two years later. The swastika and hammer were symbols of this pan-German movement, whose leading figures—Hans Knirsch, Rudolf Jung, Hans Krebs, and Franz Jesser—gained widespread significance.

Thus, the German youth in Austria—where Catholicism, due to the lack of its leaders’ engagement in national matters, only regained stronger awareness at the turn of the 20th century—received a different political imprint than those in the German Reich. They were directly confronted with tasks, questions, and decisions unknown to the Reich. The threat of encroaching borders and the plight of Germans on the frontlines and in the diaspora created an entirely different atmosphere here. Above all, the struggle for national identity was vivid—the fight for home and hearth in the German areas of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, South Tyrol, southern Carinthia, southern Styria, and at the borders of the German settlement areas toward the East. This gave rise to national protective associations for schools and border settlement (*Südmark*), the former being a work of the South Tyrolean priest Mittler. This struggle against German identity also shaped, from a national perspective, a different type of person in Austria, one more open to national questions. Tyrol and Salzburg were the last regions of Upper Austria to be touched by the national movement, except

in the cities, and even in recent years, when this national idea had long been fragmented by liberal elements, both regions were drawn into the National Socialist movement not so much through a path of kindred intellectual conviction but almost exclusively through economic considerations. This is true if one disregards the liberal teaching profession, the bureaucracy, and the small bourgeois intelligentsia, which, religiously detached, had changed flags and programs multiple times since 1890 out of political indecision. The large number of National Socialist supporters in Tyrol and Salzburg had little to do with genuine national idealism, as the borderland issue was not as pressing there by the end of the World War as it was in other German areas of Austria.

In Styria, Carinthia, and the southern regions, two historical factors primarily paved the way for the movement. First, there was the fierce national struggle against the advancing Slavic influence, which, since the 1870s, had pursued a deliberate conquest plan for German soil. From the south, the South Slavic state idea ⁹ pressed forward, supported by the Orthodox Serbian National Church; in the northwest, it was the Czechs ¹⁰, whose radical forces worked toward the complete displacement of German identity in Bohemia and Moravia, achieving significant success. The second deeply regrettable phenomenon, and a contributing cause to the national movement's anti-clerical goals from the outset in these regions, was liberalism. Since the era of Josephinism, extending into the 1870s—partly supported by the imperial court and its bureaucracy—liberalism spread unchecked in cities and markets, finding adherents and defenders among

⁹ Threatened were the border regions of Styria, Carinthia, and additionally the ancient German linguistic enclaves in Moravia.

¹⁰ Cf. the writings of Masaryk, Palacký. The entire tragedy of the "Austrian problem" and the lamentable fate of the Austrian soul are revealed in the youth history of Hitler.

the clergy as well ¹¹. (Even in liberal parties, Catholic clergy were elected as representatives.) Highly indicative of the religious decline in these German-speaking regions is the fact that among the actual advocates and promoters of Joseph II's church reforms, which had lingering effects into the 1890s, there was even a Catholic bishop, Count Hohenberg of Gurk. Unfortunately, we still lack a history of Josephinism and thus of religious life in Austria for the 19th century to properly assess the struggles that paralyzed Catholicism in this state-church system. Perhaps certain character traits of the German tribes inhabiting Styria and Carinthia also fostered a freer view of life than we find among other tribes (Alemanni, West Bavarians). Of further great significance was the fact that during the Reformation of the 16th century, large parts of Austria had become almost entirely Protestant, and only later did a sometimes forcibly implemented Counter-Reformation revive the faltering Catholicism ¹². At that time, a faith movement with strong national characteristics emerged with peculiar force between and above Catholicism and Protestantism. The memory of these faith struggles has not faded among the peasantry and educated circles of my homeland to this day. However, one would need to write the history of the cultural confrontations of the old monarchy to understand how many religious, cultural, and political currents of the 19th century ultimately converged into a strong, unified national movement.

Thus, the national movement in old Austria bore not only distinctly liberal traits from its very inception but also, as early as the 1890s, a pronounced anti-Roman affect. It increasingly drifted into the waters of

¹¹ W. Bloch, *The Ecclesiastical and State Conditions of Austria in the Last 120 Years* (1870); Alois von Mattingen, *History of German Liberalism* (2 volumes, 1918).

¹² Cf. the numerous scholarly works of the Graz university professors Joseph and Franz Günther, *The German Peasants' War*, Oldenbourg Publishing House, Munich (both strongly one-sided); Hugo Gantsch, *History of the General German Peasants' War*, 1925. On the Counter-Reformation: Leopold Schuster, *Life History of the Burgrave Martin Brenner*.

Protestant conquest plans (Away-from-Rome Movement, Evangelical League, Gustav Adolf Association), which skillfully used the German School Association for these purposes, building national protective schools in the border regions, as well as the Südmark, which primarily settled Reich-German Protestants there because Catholics were considered too “unreliable” in national matters. The gymnastics movement of Jahn and the press also played a role. Anyone who compares the speeches of certain representatives of these associations and organizations, as well as the language of the German-national newspapers in Austria from 1914 to 1918, with the leading literature of today’s National Socialism will find striking parallels. The ideological foundations already emerged with increasing clarity during these years. Especially the long-time intellectual leader of the pan-German movement he created in Austria, the Sudeten German Georg Ritter von Schönerer ¹³, under whose oratorical influence the entire educated class of Germans in the Habsburg monarchy stood (cf. the memoirs of Hermann Bahr), gave the party’s education an explicitly antisemitic and anti-clerical character. Many missteps occurred precisely in these years of struggle, which prepared the ground for the worldview aspect of National Socialism, due to individual ecclesiastical authorities’ handling of the clergy in nationally oppressed areas. Devastating was the impression made by Czech, often linguistically inadequate, clerics in Carinthia, Styria, and purely German-speaking communities of the southern regions, after the number of priests from German families had become increasingly rare under the influence of the national movement. A shocking picture of spiritual shortsightedness and national radicalism unfolds when one statistically examines these conditions alongside the unsettling decline of ecclesiastical life under the impact of national liberalism. Slogans against Rome, political Catholicism, and Christianity in general accompanied this religious transition.

¹³ Adolf Beben, 1886, *Five Lives*, 1891, Molisch, *History of the German-National Movement in Austria*, 1926; G. Hertwig, *Georg B. C. Schönerer* (4 volumes, 1913–1923).

The Away-from-Rome Movement ¹⁴, which unfortunately was regarded by many as an essential companion of the German national movement in Austria, led hundreds of thousands of Catholics in the Austrian Alpine regions and the southern territories to Protestantism, which was presented as the religious expression of German identity (doctors, professors, officials; in many student associations, apostasy was a prerequisite for membership). In particular, the stance of the “Catholic People’s Party,” the Alpine Catholic Reich Party, on the Baden Language Ordinances was exploited to cast suspicion on the national convictions of German Catholics in general, portraying the Catholic Church itself as anti-German and Protestantism as the German church. Supported by the Evangelical League and the Gustav Adolf Foundation in Germany, a secession movement was initiated in all German areas of Austria, served by political assemblies, evangelical family evenings, and anti-Catholic pamphlets and magazines (Der Scherer since 1898, Die Wartburg, among

¹⁴ A devastating judgment on this movement is found in the book *Mein Kampf* by Adolf Hitler: “If it (the Los-von-Rom movement) had been successful, then the unfortunate church schism in Germany would have been overcome, and the inner strength of the Reich could only have gained immensely from such a victory. However, neither the premise nor the conclusion of this struggle was correct (p. 126). Indeed, it succeeded in detaching about 100,000 members from the Church, but without causing it any particular harm. It truly did not need to shed tears over the lost ‘sheep’ in this case; for it lost only what had long ceased to fully belong to it inwardly (p. 128). But one does not study history to then, when it comes to practical application, fail to recall its lessons or believe that things are now different, rendering its eternal truths no longer applicable; rather, one learns from it precisely for its application to the present. Whoever cannot accomplish this should not imagine themselves a political leader; in truth, they are a shallow, though perhaps very conceited, fool, and all good intentions do not excuse their practical incompetence (p. 129). Nothing is more dangerous for a political party than to allow itself to be guided in its decisions by those bandwagon fighters in all matters who want everything without being able to achieve even the slightest thing in reality.” (p. 131)

others) to spread Protestant ideas into Catholic circles. These found easier acceptance among the religiously lukewarm intelligentsia, as they appeared under popular national slogans. Numerous churches were built with foreign funds, Reich-German pastors and itinerant preachers were called into the country, and even the parliamentary stage was used to promote anti-Catholic propaganda. A second Reformation was created among the Germans of Austria at that time ¹⁵. This struggle intensified on the occasion of the Borromeo Encyclical of 1910, in which Pius X had condemned the harms of the Reformation. The specially formed “Committee for the Promotion of the Evangelical Movement in Austria” boasted in 1910 of having distributed more than two million writings. The contributions of the Evangelical League reached 200,000 RM quarterly in 1910, and the Gustav Adolf Foundation dedicated 400,000 RM to church construction. The Evangelical League in Germany alone supported 500 parishes. Between 1899 and 1904, 13 new churches and 97 preaching stations were established in Bohemia alone; from 1897 to 1907, 110 churches and chapels were consecrated across Austria, 220 new preaching positions were created, and the number of clergy in Bohemia was increased from 28 to 62 through external recruitment. The success lagged behind the effort but was nonetheless profoundly tragic. The interconfessional laws of 1868 had led to a confessional-national shift in Austria, resulting in a 2% loss of Catholics. Compared to these losses, the defection figures of the Away-from-Rome Movement were relatively small: 1897–1900: 10,000; 1900–1904: 34,000, of which 9,000 to Old Catholicism; over a third became non-confessional. On the evangelical side, by 1907, 41,000 conversions to Protestantism and 17,200 to Old Catholicism were recorded. Apart from Bohemia, Vienna provided the strongest contribution to these sad figures in a predominantly Catholic country.

It must not be overlooked that, unfortunately, precisely those areas of Austria affected by the Away-from-Rome Movement later became the

¹⁵ Cf. Coudenhove-Kalergi, *On the Characteristics of the Los-von-Rom Movement*, Gerold Publishing House, Vienna 1900.

strongest strongholds of National Socialism and have partly remained so to this day, thereby simultaneously compromising the entire movement in the eyes of religiously minded people as a second Away-from-Rome Movement, which it actually did not intend to be. Thus, the cities and markets of Austria, due to this blatant misuse of religion for political purposes since the 1880s, presented a picture of religious decay. The intelligentsia and the better middle class had lost their connection to the church, while the common rural population remained faithful or, insofar as it belonged to the working class, was organized in Marxist trade unions up to 80%. Unfortunately, there is a lack of religious statistics for Austria's dioceses regarding church attendance, fulfillment of Easter duties, or sacramental baptisms to provide a true picture of Austrian Catholicism in this epoch, without which the drift of national thinking into an anti-Catholic mindset cannot be understood. Through individual radically inclined personalities who misused the Evangelical League in Berlin and the Gustav Adolf Association, the slogan was spread in word and writing in Austria that Catholic and national convictions were incompatible concepts. Many parishes became religiously extinct in this way. Gradually, convinced Catholics were pushed out of all public positions. The suppression and sidelining of even highly capable and Catholic men in appointments to positions in provinces, cities, and municipalities were portrayed as a national necessity. Placing faithful private lecturers at universities became an impossibility¹⁶. In the midst of a Catholic state, loyal Catholics were merely tolerated and degraded to second-class citizens, their national convictions questioned simply because they had the courage to profess their Christianity. The majority of the population was reduced to a helot-like status against the minority.

However, this period also saw the slow awakening of Catholicism, with its leaders—individual bishops (Kudigier, Zwerger), outstanding

¹⁶ Cf. the following: the journal *Bonifatius-Korrespondenz*, pp. 1–152, Prague 1938.

ordinary priests (Opitz, Father Abel), and laypeople—emerging ¹⁷. In Germany ¹⁸, too, since the Kulturkampf, liberalism and an anti-Catholic stance had been accompanying phenomena of the national idea, which, however, could never become as vibrant until the post-war period as in the nationally threatened German-speaking areas of Austria. Various causes, not least French influences, promoted liberalism in Baden and Bavaria. In Bavaria, the Protestant element was deliberately favored in the bureaucracy and even at the royal court for decades.

However significant these phenomena in old Austria and certain parts of Germany may explain, National Socialism would never have become such a power if numerous currents in the philosophical, social, and legal domains had not converged. Politically, various parties prepared the ground. In Austria ¹⁹, these were the German Nationals, who repeatedly changed names, programs, and colors, the party of progressive Christians, the Democrats, the German Radicals, the Greater German movement, and the organizations of the working class and peasantry (Farmers' League). In Germany, they were national parties of all shades ²⁰.

Some leading figures of these national parties and the movement in general were, unfortunately, religiously liberal, anti-Catholic, or lived in a

¹⁷ Cf. the fate of the historians von Pastor and Johannes Baptist von Weiß. Erich Ponath, *The German Catholics in the Czechoslovak Republic*, Ambrosius Spiß Publishing House, Warnsdorf 1934.

¹⁸ Kisling, *History of the German Catholic Days*; A. Sichert, *Montesquieu and Rousseau's Influence on the Monarchist Liberalism of Baden*, 1894. *German Liberalism in the Bismarck Era*. A collection of unpublished letters from leading politicians. (Edited by Seyderhoff and Wengle, 1925–1926, 2 volumes.)

¹⁹ F. L. Pfirsche, *The Parties of the Germans in Austria Before and After the World War*, 1915.

²⁰ Stillich, *The Political Parties in Germany*, Vol. 2: *Liberalism*, 1911; A. Wahl, *Contributions to German Party History in the 19th Century*, 1910.

peculiar religious world full of contradictions. In any case, they rejected any influence of religion beyond the confines of the church. If the national movement sought and found most of its supporters precisely among these religiously uprooted circles, this does not mean that the German unity idea and the honest desire to defend German identity were carried solely by liberalism. Respected Catholics who professed their religion performed invaluable work in national matters. These were German-minded priests and Catholic laypeople who, with deep sorrow, had to witness how national convictions were increasingly fragmented by liberalism, which later gave birth to Marxism as its legitimate son. The drift of nationalism into anti-clerical thought patterns was also caused by the passive stance of some ecclesiastical authorities, the lack of foresight in the Catholic camp regarding the significance of this movement, and, on the other hand, the provocative, domineering manner in which some pastors in Austria unabashedly preached their alignment of nation and Lutheranism. The intellectual pioneers of National Socialism, which today seeks to establish a firm, dogmatic, and ethical system with specific views and demands in the fields of ethics and law, are thus, from an ideological-historical perspective, to be found in the most diverse areas of cultural life. A vast complex of ideas forms its prerequisite. This also partly explains why the national idea in the German-speaking area was accompanied from its earliest beginnings by an anti-clerical and anti-Roman sentiment. Especially in Austria, the concepts of German and Catholic hostility overlapped in most cases even before the war.

That the national movement in Italy took an anti-clerical direction can be explained by its opposition to the Papal States, which were an obstacle to Italian unity. Here, from a purely historical perspective, one can understand various secular attitudes in the Risorgimento, which had an anti-clerical trait, even though Catholic personalities also contributed to Italian unity. The opposition to the Papal States reinforced the anti-clerical stance of many circles in the Italian national movement. In the German-speaking area, there was nothing comparable that, from an external perspective, would have justified this stance of the awakening

nationalism. Thus, the deeper causes of the anti-clerical trait must be sought not in political but in worldview domains. These preparatory works can be identified in various areas.

2.1. Philosophical Pioneers ²¹

One can, without hesitation, equate the so-called more distant pioneers of the national movement, Meister Eckhart—who, as a brilliant linguistic creator, introduced hundreds of philosophical and theological concepts into the German language—and Nicolaus of Cusa. The former, the successor of Thomas Aquinas at the Dominican chair in Paris and that of Albertus Magnus in Cologne, was, despite his northern origins and some controversial teachings about the “birth of God” in the human soul, neither a pantheist, a precursor of Nietzsche ²², nor of the German faith movement ²³ that believed it could arrogantly deny the supernatural nature of Christianity ²⁴, but a faithful Christian who wished to remain in the Church and had close ties to the Neoplatonically oriented Jewish religious philosophy ²⁵.

Meister Eckhart, one of the great figures of the German Middle Ages, rediscovered by Romanticism, is particularly portrayed by the German Faith Movement—which wrongly considers itself the pure herald of the National Socialist worldview—as a champion against Roman Catholicism and the “Oriental” Christianity. It is claimed that in him, for

²¹ Groß, *The Prophets*, National Socialist Monthly, 1930, pp. 29–33, and Walter Bode, *Richard Wagner’s Doctrine of Regeneration*, National Socialist Monthly, 1931, pp. 152–170.

²² Werner Weubel.

²³ Erwin Guido Kolbenheyer, *New Land*; Sauer.

²⁴ Cf. the research by Karrer, Josef Noch, Breslau (altar work of the Liturgical Life), Steinbuchel, Alois Kempf, Bonn; Erich Seeberg. (Two lectures at the Lessing Academy in Berlin, Mohr-Siebeck Publishing House, Tübingen 1934.)

²⁵ Karl Kindt therefore outright denies Hölderlin the German spirit (in Will Vesper’s journal *The New Literature*, 1938). His teaching is “a poorly veiled reissue of the philosophy of the syncretistic 18th century.”

the first time on German soil, “the Nordic-Germanic, long-suppressed cosmic sense of life and divinity broke through, forming itself into a species-appropriate, pantheistic, godly mysticism.”²⁶ However, serious scholarship, not yet swayed by bias, has provided evidence that the assertion of a Germanic mysticism in Eckhart, opposed to Christian piety, is merely an arbitrary assumption based on falsely interpreted texts²⁷. Rather, it is the ancient stream of Christian tradition, flowing for over a century, in which Augustine, Christian Neoplatonism, the Gospel of John, and the Apostle Paul are represented. Meister Eckhart’s writings are not the founding document of a hitherto unrealized “Germanic” Christianity, so he cannot be claimed as the symbolic figure of a German national church. This dispute over Eckhart is not new, however topical it may seem. Even the posthumous condemnation of Eckhart, carried out cautiously, was directed against unauthorized individuals who had already misinterpreted him at the time. The critical edition of his Latin works²⁸, in particular, proves that Eckhart was rooted in the Christian past and was by no means a religious founder emerging from the solitude of the German forest. As a mystic, he exists within global contexts that still remain in shadow. His greatness can only be measured against Neoplatonism and even more distant centers of religious tradition, with which he, as both a scholastic thinker and a child of the Crusader epoch, was connected. One day, it will seem incomprehensible to speak of German mysticism without mentioning a word about Arabic, Indian, or Chinese conceptions of God, and this

²⁶ Hermann Mandel, Kiel, *German Belief in God from German Mysticism to the Present*, Armanen Publishing House, Leipzig 1934.

²⁷ Karl Heussi, *The Germanization of Christianity as a Historical Problem*, *Journal for Theology and Church*, Issue 2, 18th Year, Mohr Publishing House, Tübingen, and Rudolf Otto, *Western Mysticism*, 1929, pp. 108 ff.

²⁸ *Magistri Eckardi opera latina. Auspiciis instituti S. Sabinae. Fasc. I: Super oratione dominica*, ed. Klibansky (Leipzig 1934); *Fasc. II: Opus tripartitum, prologi*, ed. Bascour (Leipzig 1935).

blindness will require corrections as significant as the ignorance of scholastic theology. This is not to deny the lasting influence of Eckhart on the development of national thinking in Germany, since Franz von Baader rediscovered his German writings, long neglected for centuries, and Hegel believed he saw his own philosophy prefigured in Eckhart.

Nicolaus of Cusa is also presented today as a pioneer of national thinking and a key witness to a pantheistic doctrine suited to the North German genius ²⁹, distinguished from scholasticism because he assumes a non-rational, non-conceptual realm of the spirit, not subject to the laws of formal logic, yet also distinct from mysticism because he sees an irrational logos within the mystical experience of God, which also reappears in the fantastic “idea.” This revelation of the German spirit was later allegedly destroyed by the French spirit (Descartes) that swept over Germany.

When speaking today of a philosophical preparation for National Socialism, this term must be understood in a broad sense, for religion, morality, legal concepts, and historical representation—in short, the entire culture of Germany—were influenced for decades by a common direction from writers, poets, cultural philosophers, and actual philosophers, characterized by the names Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Dilthey, Chamberlain, the Bayreuth Circle around Richard Wagner, Lagarde ³⁰, and Spengler.

Schopenhauer (†1860) may hardly be counted among the pioneers by some representatives of National Socialism, yet his name cannot be overlooked here, not only because he shares a surprising intellectual richness with Nietzsche, but because he is called the only European event

²⁹ Rudolf Schebrecht, *Nicolaus of Cusa and the German Spirit*, Junker & Dünnhaupt Publishing House, Berlin 1934.

³⁰ Paul de Lagarde, *Writings for the German People*. Vol. 1: *German Writings*. Vol. 2: *Selected Writings*. 2nd edition, J. F. Lehmann Publishing House, Munich. This second edition also includes the eulogy delivered by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff at Lagarde’s grave.

between Goethe and Nietzsche. As the main proponent of a voluntarist metaphysics, he managed to combine his pessimistic ethics of compassion with a refined Machiavellian everyday morality. Deeply connected to the Enlightenment through his education, in his view, the human being appears as the measure of all things; God and divine commandments are removed as empty illusions from this worldview, and the will is elevated above reason as the dominant force in humanity. Thus, this intellectual framework is timely, as not a few representatives of National Socialism declare themselves weary of Christianity and look toward ancient India. A good portion of what today stirs anti-Christian sentiment in some National Socialist circles is Schopenhauer's intellectual legacy.

Nietzsche (†1900) ³¹. No writer of the late 19th century exerted such a profound intellectual influence on the emerging, nationally minded youth of Germany—and we can say, of the entire world—as the seemingly simple son of the pastor from Röcken near Leipzig, who, by the age of 16, had already fallen away from religion and soon, under Schopenhauer's influence, saw in Christianity only the symbolism of something yet higher. Nietzsche, who was more affirming of French culture than German and considered Pascal's *Pensées* as well as the works of Stendhal, Taine, and Voltaire among the deepest and most inexhaustible books, was one of the most widely read authors at the front of the World War, and nearly all thinkers of the last three decades fell under his spell unless they stood on a firmer Christian foundation ³². The brilliance of his aphorisms, passionate fervor, melodic

³¹ Ernst Sornesser, *Nietzsche as a Harbinger of the Present*, 2nd edition, A. Bagel Publishing House, Düsseldorf, 1938; Josef Hofmiller, *Nietzsche* (Coleman's Small Biographies, 18), Chatka Coleman Publishing House, Lübeck; Ernst von Aster, *The Philosophy of the Present*, A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij N. V., Leiden 1934, partially addresses these intellectual movements on German soil with astute judgments (Southwest German School [Wilhelm Dilthey] and Nietzsche's successors [Bäumler, Spengler]).

³² Nietzsche himself, as a keenly discerning folk psychologist, made the following striking judgments about his own people:

rhythm, and artistic form of the German language, which he mastered like few since Goethe, no less amplified his following than the core doctrines of his ethics of power and will, with its demand for ruthless advancement over all opposition. Many of his own coined terms have become common parlance among the assembly speakers and propagandists of National Socialism (moralin, conceptual cripple, Renaissance virtue, hinterlander, socialist rabble, soul baseness). In him, the restless German soul since Kant, Feuerbach, and Stirner erupted as if in an explosion, although he himself, strictly speaking, may have been a hybrid and passed very harsh judgments on the Germans and their nationalism. His works have nothing in common with ordinary popular enlightenment literature but breathe a deep hatred against everything called religion, Christianity, and church; yet his worldview is not won through reason but as a passion-heavy upheaval of the entire inner human being. The heroic life ideal and the philosophy of vitality in the Renaissance sense is his goal, displacing Schopenhauer's pessimism of will and life, not virtue in a moral-Christian sense. He reproaches Christianity for loving and nurturing the sickly and weak, and for speaking of sin, conscience, and humility instead of heroism ³³. It is the philosophy of the will, of dynamism, of constant revolution in the sense of the idea of power, of the assertion that allows no contradiction and permits

"We Germans are Hegelians, even if there had never been a Hegel, insofar as we (in contrast to all Latins) instinctively attribute a deeper meaning and richer value to becoming and development than to what is..."

"As a people of the most tremendous mixing and amalgamation of races, perhaps even with a predominance of the Aryan element, as the 'people of the middle,' the Germans are more incomprehensible, more extensive, more contradictory, more unknown, more unpredictable, more surprising, even more terrifying than other peoples."

³³ Walther Spethmann: *The Concept of Mastery in Nietzsche*. New German Research, Philosophy Division, Junker & Dünnhaupt Publishing House, Berlin 1938.

no criticism, of unconditional skepticism toward everything the past believed as religious and moral truth, of the affirmation of the self and the rejection of compassion along with morality, of the dissolution of all objectivity, the demand for strict obedience down to the smallest details of his dictatorship, and the transvaluation of all values. This is Zarathustra's doctrine, applied to a worldview, with a hatred of Christianity that grows with each year of his literary activity. It is self-deification as a religious surrogate. In Nietzsche's worldview, everything solid has become fluid, a boundless freedom of assumption, the play with limitless possibilities allows the spirit to enjoy no sovereignty and simultaneously gives it the pain of its rootlessness. This pain of the emptiness and homelessness of the soul, this awareness of anarchy in all deeper convictions, this uncertainty about the values and goals of life speak movingly from many passages of his writings. Above all, he hated Catholicism ³⁴.

To excuse Nietzsche's invectives against Christianity, it has been pointed out that he does not fight the actual Christianity but the corrupted form in which it appeared in Schopenhauer, Pascal, Richard Wagner, and Leo Tolstoy (What Is My Faith?). In truth, the image of the "life-hostile Christian ethic" that Nietzsche sketches is nothing but a reflection of Schopenhauer's distortion of Christianity. It is also true that Nietzsche, as the "most instructive victim of Christianity," repeatedly cites Pascal: "Slowly tortured to death, first physically, then psychologically," he offers the best depiction of "the most horrific form of human cruelty." As for Richard Wagner, it may be that his Parsifal piety was merely an external play with religious forms without inner conviction for the sake of purely artistic "success." One might ask, what of Nietzsche's thought world has passed into the teachings of many leading writers of National Socialism? Not the rejection of Christianity as a whole, but of a church-dogmatically

³⁴ Letter 1875: "I am deeply ashamed when I encounter the suspicion that I have anything to do with this fundamentally repugnant Catholic essence... our good, pure Protestant air! Never before have I felt my innermost dependence on the spirit of Luther as strongly as I do now." (Kroner Collection, Leipzig 1932.)

bound Christianity, the cult of the will, the drive for power and enhanced life force, struggle as the highest form of education, the value of blood and race, of breeding and cultivation of nobler human types, of family history, of favoring large families, the new responsibility of the physician for all, where the highest interest of ascending life demands the ruthless suppression and elimination of degenerate life, the irrational, instinctive, and elemental. Blood, violence, myth, and race are the values on which Nietzsche, with Sorel's glorification of the unpredictable, seeks to build an entirely new society and political order, after the ideas of democracy, humanity, and world fraternization have lost their creative power. The journal *Will and Power*, the leadership organ of the National Socialist youth, writes on the occasion of a tribute to this philosopher on November 1, 1934:

“Nietzsche overcame the rationalism and intellectualism that had dominated philosophy until him and replaced them with a philosophy of vitality. Not reason ruled life after him, but the eternally restless drive-will. With this, Nietzsche expressed what has only been fully recognized today: that we had fallen prey to an overestimation of the intellect. At the same time, however, he replaced Schopenhauer's pessimism of will and life with a heroic affirmation of will and life. From this new attitude toward life stems his fiercest struggle against all despisers of the body, the ‘hinterlanders,’ a Christianity that shifts the weight of suffering to the hereafter, seeks to destroy the survival instincts of strong life, and teaches hatred against all that is natural. But he wants no deification; no, Nietzsche is a man who, as no one before him for a long time, bears a deep piety in himself.”

Even Nietzsche's derogatory remarks on the race question, antisemitism, and the total state (“where racial mixtures exist, there is the source of great culture,” “deal with no man who takes part in the lying racial swindle,” in *The Will to Power*, as well as *Zarathustra*, chapter on the new idols) could not prevent his life philosophy, in its fundamental tendency—“rejection of the supernatural of Christianity, turning toward a purely natural life ideal and a nationally enclosed being”—from decisively and influentially penetrating the worldview of numerous representatives of

National Socialism. Without Nietzsche, who had Stirner as his precursor, National Socialism would lack an essential element of its entire system, according to these circles. Since Nietzsche pronounced the condemnation of Christian compassion morality and set the honor of the high-minded, heroically resisting superhuman against the supposed “demeaning slave humility of Pauline Christianity,” the irreconcilable opposition between heroic consciousness and humility has been repeatedly proclaimed, especially in Germany. Now, the final judgment on the “Semitic mentality” of humility, allegedly “born of weakness and barrenness,” is to be fulfilled through the ethos of honor, which arises from the creative power-consciousness of a nobler race and to which alone the future of awakened humanity belongs. Although it has long been recognized in scholarly circles that Nietzsche, in gross misunderstanding of Christian thought, confused Schopenhauer’s compassion with Catholic personal love, and that Jesus’ teaching on humility remained entirely foreign or became foreign to him, the supposed contradiction between honor and humility is simply accepted as an axiom.

Wilhelm Dilthey, the Protestant pastor’s son (†1911), in whose pietistic parental home the dogmatic substance of Christianity had already evaporated, still stood in the midst of the world of naturalism, where all being and becoming was merely a nexus of force and matter, and the human being was merely a machine. His works *Experience and Poetry* and *Introduction to the Human Sciences* mark a turning point in modern thought, although Dilthey, too, remained stuck in pantheism and grounded his worldview not in a logical order but in feelings and drives. He, too, never encountered the personality of Christ, and in this failure lies the tragedy of his worldview³⁵. He, who believed in an unstoppable progress of humanity with purely this-worldly interests and in the dominance of

³⁵ Cf. Theodor Litt, *Leipzig, Philosophy and the Spirit of the Times*, p. 13, Felix Meiner Publishing House, Leipzig 1955. On Dilthey’s and his circle’s stance toward the present, cf. O. Westphal, *The World and State Conception of German Liberalism*, Munich 1919.

science over life, feared that his philosophy of life was merely naked skepticism. The homelessness of the modern human being speaks movingly from his writings as well.

Houston Stewart Chamberlain, whose favorite writers were Montaigne, Rousseau, Voltaire, and Pascal (*Pensées*)³⁶, is the personality to whom the National Socialist movement owes the greatest part of its intellectual foundations. Thus, Rosenberg writes in 1927 in his *Myth of the 20th Century*: “When the German people have passed through the swamp of today and set about finally building a German Reich, they will find that Chamberlain also provided its foundations. He is one of the greatest mediators between the German people and their immortal soul.”³⁷ However, Rosenberg’s judgment in his work, *Chamberlain as Herald and Founder of a German Future*,³⁸ is unfounded when he calls him the universal man around 1900. Chamberlain, the son of an old English family, a branch of which moved to Lübeck, found his way through Wagner,

³⁶ *Life Paths of My Thinking*, pp. 348 ff., H. Bruckmann Publishing House, Munich 1922, and *Enduring Life Companions*. He calls Voltaire, like Frederick the Great, a “truth torch.”

³⁷ Georg Schott, *Chamberlain, the Seer of the Third Reich*, Selections from His Works, J. Bruckmann Publishing House, Munich. A content-rich essay about him by Albert Grün in the journal *Die Kultur*, pp. 409–430, Vienna 1900/01.

³⁸ Cf. further Chamberlain’s works *Immanuel Kant and Goethe*, *Cosima Wagner and Houston Stewart Chamberlain in Correspondence 1888–1908*. (Edited by Paul Pretzsch, Philipp Reclam, Leipzig 1934.) Compare Chamberlain’s word about the Germans (April 11, 1890): “It is indeed a puzzling people, this German one, without any instinct, without any capacity for discernment.” But he loves this people for another reason. “There is something wonderful among us Germans about the difference between the Anglo-Saxon and the German, and while the German may be called to produce the most powerful spirits, I increasingly believe that the powerful people can only be found and raised among us.”

Gobineau, and Kant into a peculiar worldview in which Christianity, even in its Protestant form, is rejected, and the Germans are celebrated as the creators and shapers of a new world. The entire content of his *Foundations of the 19th Century*, published in 1899, is the awakening of a truly species-appropriate Nordic life-feeling, which is also the goal of the eternal German longing struggle from Martin Luther to Goethe and Kant. The Aryan-Nordic race is consistently placed by him at the forefront of his considerations of philosophy, religion, and culture. His doctrine, borrowed from the French, of the differing valuation of races forms the foundation of his worldview, in which there is no longer a place for Christianity. During the war, a passionate supporter of Germany's politics, he was closely befriended with Adolf Hitler since 1923³⁹, on whose world of ideas he undoubtedly sought to exert influence, as numerous passages in *Mein Kampf* demonstrate. Chamberlain's worldview was so strongly determined by race and nation that he saw in the World War only the outbreak of a spiritual world struggle that first appeared in the 19th century with the attack of the "pure North" against the world power of Roman-liberal Judaism. His hatred of everything ecclesiastical and confessional was as passionate as his advocacy for Germany. The dominant ideas of Chamberlain's worldview are race and nation, escalated into radical demands against Judaism and Christianity to form the new German human type. The race doctrine occupies a central position in the *Foundations of the 19th Century*.

Richard Wagner holds a special role among the pioneers of a worldview entirely shaped by national thinking. One does not go too far in claiming that a direct line runs from his thought world, through a heroic life conception and the influence of race on culture and religion, into that of Rosenberg⁴⁰. As much as Wagner repeatedly draws on Christian heritage

³⁹ Cf. the letter that Chamberlain addressed to Adolf Hitler on October 7, 1923.

⁴⁰ Curt von Wegener, *Richard Wagner's Struggle Against Spiritual Foreign Domination*, J. G. Lehmann Publishing House, Munich 1933.

in his stage works, as a person, he consciously seeks to exclude everything ecclesiastical-confessional, as his writing *Religion and Art* amply proves. Contradictory statements about Christianity—its sublimity and greatness on the one hand, and its “corruption” through Jewish influence on the other—alternate in his writings. While it would be wrong to count him among the heathens, it cannot be denied that in his religious conceptions, he consistently stood under the influence of Renan, David Strauss, Gobineau, Nietzsche, and liberal Protestant theology. Even if he later moderated the fanatical hatred of Christianity from his youth under Schopenhauer’s influence, to him, the Christian religion is merely a side shoot of Brahmanism and Buddhism. Thus, a completely falsified image of the Christian religion emerged in him, allegedly entirely corrupted by Jewish influence and not to be connected with the Old Testament. The latter, he claims, has no value; rather, it is the most dreadful confusion in history to link Christ with it.

Rarely has an artist so thoroughly shaped his works from the ideas of a specific philosophy as Wagner, and so intensively and frequently intervened literarily in worldview struggles and the entire broad domain of cultural philosophy. Even the Kantian Friedrich von Schiller and the Hegelian Hebbel cannot match Wagner in this regard. Wagner’s intellectual life must be divided into two periods: the first, revolutionary, stands under the influence of the Young Hegelian Feuerbach; the later, calmed period, is entirely under Schopenhauer’s spell. Precisely because Wagner became the artistic herald of Schopenhauer, he is the towering, musical, and dramatic pinnacle of the German national ideal. We witness the rare spectacle of a philosophical intellectual current, running from Kant through Hegel, Fichte, and Schelling to Schopenhauer, reaching its ultimate boundaries through a composer. Wagner elevates the German saga treasure and crusades for a purely German art. With Feuerbach, he fights against every religion and all dogmas. The dissolution of the individual in the universal unity, the sacrifice of the individual for the whole of humanity (heroic life conduct). Intoxicated by these ideas, he drafts the plan for a drama, *Jesus of Nazareth*, where Christ, stripped of all supernatural elements, appears only

as a spiritual revolutionary and, through the sacrifice of his life, seeks to bring great love into humanity. The work remained a torso, but the ideas recur in various of his works and solidify, since Wagner read Gobineau's work on races, into a biological worldview, in which all intellectual life is explained from the blood-roots of race, and Judaism, as the alien race, is completely rejected.

Spengler. The worldview of Oswald Spengler, which evokes a strong fatalism, depicting the proletarian upheaval from within and the revolution of the colored world from without as inevitable developmental necessities of the coming decades, is, however, rejected by the leadership of the Hitler Youth, particularly as laid out in his work *The Hour of Decision*. Spengler is seen by the fighters who brought about the national upheaval in Germany as a representative of the liberal 19th century, merely a scholar whose fatalistic historical constructions would weaken the German fighting spirit⁴¹. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that even his materialistic historical conceptions have introduced numerous impulses into the ideological world of individual representatives of National Socialism.

Under the influence of these personalities, a shift and reinterpretation of concepts and terms has taken place, which has so deeply penetrated the worldview of National Socialism that it seems daring to speak of an independent philosophy of National Socialism. Each of the mentioned writers has contributed a thread, though it is impossible to reduce everything to a common denominator or a closed system. However,

⁴¹ Thus writes Auf, German Youth and Oswald Spengler, in the leader organ of the Hitler Youth, 1934, p. 26: "The youth does not believe in him, though it honors and respects him as the only ingenious spirit among those not born to the era carried by the spirit of youth. But it also knows that it is its unshakable faith in the Leader and his history-shaping mission that will allow National Socialism to triumphantly overcome its ever-recurring trials and tests. It knows that the revolution of the youth is stronger than the revolution of the proletariat, and that through the former, the latter is impossible—and it also knows that as long as this revolution of the youth endures, Germany is vigorous enough to confine the revolution of the colored world to its limits."

certain main lines can be identified and established across all of them. Perhaps these can be characterized, especially in Dilthey, Scheler, Spengler, and Nietzsche, with the following terms:

Organic thinking against mechanistic, spontaneous becoming against causal, intuition and imagination against strictly logical, systematic thinking, dynamism in place of so-called statics. Particularly characteristic is the empathetic immersion in the rhythm of life, a listening to the mysterious resonance of blood in the flow of peoples and races, an attunement to myths as the finest expression of national life. Ultimately, however, all this flows into a pantheism, which Schopenhauer politely called the form of atheism. Humanity and God merge without sharp boundaries into a great intoxication of life, but with this, moral norms and ultimate responsibility for human actions also evaporate.

2.2. Historical Preparations

The philosophical background of the emerging German historicism, in which the forces of nationalism, politics, and social theory gained a decisive influence on historiography, is formed by Hegel, the father of dialectics and simultaneously of two hostile brothers: nationalism and Marxism. The question of good and evil no longer exhausts itself in his philosophy within historical reality but is judged by other values. From the school of this militant patriotism and the Prussian historical conception, born after earlier beginnings in the revolutionary year of 1848, a series of significant scholars emerged (Hausser, von Sybel, Treitschke, Mommsen, Droysen). This form of historical science became one of the main forces that created the national Germany. It was the breakthrough of the political spirit, the Prussian state idea, into historiography. According to this view, the course of world history does not stand outside virtue, as Hegel believed; world history is also not, in Schiller's sense, purely immanent as the world tribunal, but the living and stronger has the right (von Sybel). Success provides the moral justification for a political action. In judging people and things, politics and nationality take precedence over virtue and dogma. A new vision of life begins ⁴². From the political creative will, a new historiography is also born. No longer the question of how it happened (Ranke), nor the quiet self-reflection of Romanticism (Herder, Johannes von Müller), determines this historical school, but the conscious application of one's own national standpoint to history (circle around Stefan George, Ernst Bertram). The human being is nothing outside their people and its history. This belief in the eternal unity of German existence now dominates historical representation. Its object becomes the nation, not statehood, which was often determined merely by dynastic interests. However, it would be wrong to simply equate Hegel's state philosophy, in which the concepts of nation, nationalism, and race were secondary, with National

⁴² Ulrich Hoess, *Historical Science and Truth*, G. Schulte-Bulmke Publishing House, Frankfurt am Main 1935.

Socialism. If for Hegel the state is “the absolute self-purpose,” in National Socialism, the state is merely a means to an end.

Thus, in National Socialist literature, when surveying German historical research of the 19th century, three ideas converge:

a) The contrast between small-German and greater-German historical representation. As a classical representative of the former, Heinrich von Treitschke ⁴³ is considered, in whose works Protestant Prussia is pitted against Catholic Austria, and Frederick II against Maria Theresa. Treitschke’s intellectual stance significantly influenced the Jesuit Count Paul von Hoensbroech ⁴⁴ and pushed him toward an anti-Roman mentality ⁴⁵. For him, too, the papal Rome is Germany’s archenemy. Treitschke and

⁴³ Heinrich von Treitschke in *German Intellectual Life of the 19th Century*. By Hans Leipprand. W. Kohlhammer Publishing House, Stuttgart 1934.

Noteworthy is the judgment of the pure Nordic Sir Austen Chamberlain, *Down the Years*, Cassell Publishing House, London 1935 (memoirs): “But the real revelation came to me from Treitschke, whose lectures on Prussian history I regularly attended at the university. I recorded my impression of his teaching activity and its effect in a letter dated October 31, 1887, in which I wrote: ‘Treitschke has opened up a new side of the German character to me—a narrow-minded, arrogant, intolerant, Prussian chauvinism. The worst thing about it is that he is forming a school. When you constantly preach to the youth of a country that it stands on a higher level of creation than other nations, the young people are all too ready to believe it, and the teacher who stoops to this becomes popular and draws a large audience. But this is very dangerous.’”

⁴⁴ Cf. his books: *Ultramontanism, Its Essence and Its Combating*, *Modern State and Roman Church*, *Rome and the Center*, *The Papacy in Its Social and Cultural Significance*.

⁴⁵ The following passages from the book *14 Years a Jesuit*, Vol. I, pp. 10–11, 1909/11, are almost verbatim adopted in Rosenberg’s *Mythos* as dogmatic foundations: “Religion, however, according to time and place, especially according to racial differences, appears in entirely different forms. Let us recall the Hellenic belief in gods, how noble, beautiful, and free it is, how oppressive

Hoensbroech, in turn, influenced Rosenberg, who expresses similar views in various passages. The Reich Office for the Promotion of German Literature included "Treitschke, German History" in its list of the hundred most important books for National Socialist libraries. With this, Treitschke is counted among the men whom national Germany recognizes as its models and leaders.

b) The dispute over the actual significance of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation for the history of the German people.

c) The repeated attempts to establish a German national church, wherein strong character and intellectual differences between Germanic and Roman peoples play a role. It should not be overlooked that in these national-ecclesiastical endeavors of the past, strong communist and social motives often intervened, against which Luther himself had to take a stand.

and paralyzing, by contrast, the Jewish law of fear and the dogma of eternal hell so strongly emphasized by Ignatius of Loyola. With a religion, a race and its people stand or fall. What distinguishes the Germans is by no means only independent, freedom-seeking thought, but above all the sacred earnestness of their life. They do not merely want to be pious, nor merely free, but pious and free at the same time. Precisely therein lies the essence of Germanness. Let us admit honestly: Between Christianity, as it was imposed on us by the Council of Nicaea, and the innermost soul-belief of the Germans, there has never been true harmony, never."

"...I learned to understand and value the concept of religion, free from ecclesiastical constraints and even in opposition to them; I came to know the churches for what they are: organizational structures of religions... I also came to know the ultramontane papacy and ultramontaniam in general as a political misuse of the Catholic religion. It dawned on me that the 'representatives of Christ,' contrary to their religious calling, had gradually become political potentates."

"My Berlin studies were the beginning, the collection of later clear insights."

2.3. Poets and Cultural Philosophers as National Champions

In Austria: Anastasius Grün (Count Auersperg), Ludwig Anzengruber, Peter Rosegger, and partly Joseph Misson ⁴⁶, who were, unfortunately, strongly dominated by liberalism and Kulturkampf mentality, underestimating the religious significance for German identity. No one disputes their partially impressive literary talent, which even captivated Catholics, but it obscured how much the poison of religious indifference spread into the people through these poets. They quietly continued the religious decay, while the Austrian government had long abandoned the Kulturkampf of the 1870s.

In Bavaria: Ludwig Thoma, Felix Dahn ⁴⁷, the circle around the Saxon Wilhelm Busch, from whose works one can better understand many slogans and peculiar religious conceptions of leading writers today. Adolf Bartels cannot be overlooked here. Also to be mentioned are the masters of folk poetry (Gehr, Ernst, Strauss, Grimm, Carossa) and the poets of the war generation (Walter Flex) ⁴⁸.

Above all, however, is the circle around Stefan George, the classical poet of the movement, “the voice of the nation for post-war Germany,” who made the “masculine” life form of Christianity—loyalty, friendship, and comradeship in struggle—the foundational attitude, but was religiously

⁴⁶ Cf. Michael von Rabenlechner, Robert Hamerling’s Religious Development in Youth, in the Yearbook of the Austrian Los-von-Rom Society, p. 148, Herder Publishing House, Vienna 1932.

⁴⁷ Primeval History of the Germanic and Roman Peoples and, as a separate book, Rulers and Heroes of Germanic Prehistory, Philipp Reclam Publishing House, Leipzig.

⁴⁸ Christian Janssen, German Literature of the Present, B. G. Teubner Publishing House, Leipzig 1938.

completely fallen. His writings are the consistent expression of the secularized human of the 19th century ⁴⁹.

Of particular significance were Möller van den Bruck (†1925), Dietrich Eckart ⁵⁰, the poet of the song “Storm” with the refrain “Germany,

⁴⁹ Currently, despite his contributions to the movement, he is already being rejected. Cf. *Political Observer*, No. 338 (December 4, 1933): “There is, however, a greatness that is no longer alive for us. It has passed, not decayed. Not that it never existed; it still exists unchanged, but it no longer speaks to us. It is from yesterday, but not from today. We do not want to deny its mastery or take offense at it just because it is no longer for us, but we also do not want to lose ourselves for its sake.” J. Papg.

Cf. H. Muth on the remarkable entourage that Stefan George gathered of extraordinary people in his intimate circle; *Hochland*, 1933/34, II; *Clementina di San Lazzaro*, Stefan George, Imola: Coop. Tip. Editrice Paolo Galeati, 1935.

⁵⁰ Dietrich Eckart, a German poet and the pioneer of the Edda movement, by Albert Reich, *Dietrich Eckart. A Legacy*. Edited and introduced by Alfred Rosenberg. 2nd edition. Central Publishing House of the NSDAP, Franz Ebers Successor, Munich 1938.

awake!”, and Hermann Löns ⁵¹ (†1914 as a war volunteer at Loivre on the Western Front).

Eckart, a willful, self-assured, almost peculiar personality, was the first poet to find his way to Adolf Hitler. His work was shaped by pure instinct. Regarding the Jewish question and the political power standpoint, he trod the generally known paths. Arthur Möller van den Bruck, who experienced the life of Germans abroad in the Baltic and Scandinavia, became the editor of the journal *Das Gewissen* in Berlin, the intellectual leader of the Youth Club, and influenced the university circle. He is considered the political teacher of young Germany through his theses on

⁵¹ “We say that we are Christians, but we are not; we cannot be either. Christianity and tribal consciousness are as incompatible as...” (Hans to Erwantje in *The Second Face*); further similar thoughts in *Werwolf*. It is a confession of the poet when he writes: “We Germans have never been truly religious. We always had religion, but a this-worldly religion; we reserved the beyond for later. With both feet we stood on this earth, lived our lives in awe and morality, did not indulge in debauchery and cruelty, and therefore did not need, like the Asians, opiates like repentance and penance. To our gods, we stood as to our princes; we paid them tribute punctually, made contracts, let them pass, and that was that!”

When someone urged Karl Weinländer to write against Christianity, he received the response:

“I should write against it? No, my dear, I have no intention of doing that! Playing the prophet in the land? If everyone had the courage to be themselves, the specter would vanish instantly. I write my books, which achieve more than if I wrote thick tomes of polemics and theory.”

Above all, his books *Herter Sandbur*, *The Red Soul*, and the collected volume edited by Deimann, *On Kinship and Morality*, must be noted, which provide an image of this religiously fallen man who also joined the opponents of Charlemagne and saw in Lower Saxony the mother soil of the finest creative forces.

the “Right of the Young” and “Socialist Foreign Policy.” Through his numerous works, he pointed the way to the future for the post-war generation. Thus, he became the teacher of an entire political leadership class. Apart from Treitschke, no other writer could so impressively and propagandistically describe the essence of the term “Prussianism.” For him, too, only an anti-liberal, heroic life ideal is envisioned, as he writes in his book *The Political Human*:

“Our task is: not to let the world come to rest. Our destiny is: to be a spiritual disturbance to the peoples of comfort, if we, whom they sought to destroy, accomplish our political rebirth.”

Religiously, he, too, had completely fallen, so he freely departed from life when, after the acceptance of the Dawes Plan, Germany’s further

future appeared almost hopeless to him ⁵². The political and cultural content of his life's work justifies A. Ohlfeldt's ⁵³ following prediction:

“That in the historical achievement of Adolf Hitler, the political legacy of Möller van den Bruck will become reality—this is the meaning of the time and the task that the next century of German history sets for its people.”

Common to all is the rejection of Christianity and the cult of the heroic human. Entirely different paths were taken by the folk teacher Julius Langbehn, the “Rembrandt German,” whose thought-heavy book

⁵² Main works at Wilhelm Gottlieb Korn Publishing House, Breslau: Socialism and Eugenics, The Political Man, The Prussian Style, The Eternal Reich:

Volume I: The Political Forces. Contents: On the Scope of Our Consciousness. — On the Universal. — On the Tragic. — On the Dogmatic. — Victory and Failure. — The Gothic Procession. — Germans Over Europe. — The Swabian Destiny. — The German in the Center of Europe. — Toward North and East. — Protestantism and Nationalism. — The King of Prussia. — The Second Reich. — The Third Reich and the Young Peoples.

Volume II: German Spirit. Contents: Errant Germans (Günther, Lenz, Grabbe). — Leading Germans (Luther, Schiller, Nietzsche). — Misjudged Germans (Eckhart, Paracelsus, Bohme, and Kopalia). — Decisive Germans (Winckelmann, Lessing, Kant, Fichte, and Moltke).

Volume III: Formative Germans. Contents: Romanesque Era (Charlemagne, Henry VI, Frederick II). — Gothic (Wolfram von Eschenbach, Walther von der Vogelweide, Master Wilhelm of Cologne). — Renaissance (Hans Holbein, Cranach). — Protestantism (Leibniz, Bach, Klopstock). — Transition (Mozart, Beethoven, Wagner). — Goethe. — New Era. — German Era.

⁵³ Our Historical Responsibility, publication of the anonymous society for Ernst Krieck. The December issue of the leader organ of the National Socialist Youth (Issue 23, 1938) already rejects Moeller. He was not a precursor and preacher of National Socialism but a representative of a reactionary (!) policy (p. 6).

Rembrandt as Educator (1890), with its ideas on Judaism, heroic education, race, peasantry, and national community, found enthusiastic reception, as did the work from his follower Otto Nommensen, *The Spirit of the Whole* (1920). Undoubtedly, Langbehn, whose correspondence with Paul de Lagarde was published in 1934 in the aftermath of the *Deutsche Rundschau*, Bibliographical Institute, Leipzig, was a fighter for the rebirth of a true German national community, with a strong antipathy toward the dominance of Jews, without, however, following Lagarde's religious errors. He found peace in the Catholic Church without having to abandon any of his national convictions.

At this point, the national poet, cultural philosopher, Protestant theology professor, and Bible critic Anton de Lagarde ⁵⁴ (†1891), who earlier bore the less appealing name Böttcher, must also be mentioned. He stood under the influence of Ewald in Göttingen and Fr. Augert, from whom he inherited an unclear, dogma-free piety. His significance lies—beyond his scholarly field of Oriental studies—in the intellectual orientation of the German movement, which, since the mid-19th century, through German idealism, Romantic poetry, and the national unification in the Wars of Liberation, ushered in a new wave of great renewal movements (youth movement, popular education, the Rembrandt German) around the turn of the century. For Lagarde alone, national-political work was an expression of a religious-worldview foundation, which in turn was both cause and effect of his theological thinking. For him, theology was merely historical science (comparative religious history), a pathfinder for a new German religion, and he specifically strove for a German Christianity with an Old Germanic pagan influence. He considered Paul, Augustine, and Luther (similarly judged by Fichte and Renan) as the main adversaries of his thought world. Although he rejected the antisemitism built on the race principle and did

⁵⁴ Wilhelm Herrmann, Paul de Lagarde, a Prophet of German Christianity. His Theological Position, Religious Worldview, and Piety. Theological Studies on the Bible, Church, and Intellectual History. Edited by Ernst Barnikol. Issue 1, 1934.

not want to be a radical antisemite, he rejected Judaism. A wealth of impulses lies in his German Writings, in which he presents himself as the herald and prophet of a new Germany, denied recognition by his contemporaries ⁵⁵. Characteristic of Lagarde are the following ideas, almost verbatim adopted by Chamberlain and Rosenberg: “The concept of God in Christianity is false. Religion is a personal relationship with God.” “Paul brought the Old Testament into the church, under whose influence the Gospel, as far as possible, was ruined.” “Nations are thoughts of God.” “Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism, and naturalism must clear the field for a new worldview, so that they are no longer thought of, just as the night lamp is no longer thought of when the morning sun shines over the mountains—or else the unity of Germany becomes more questionable day by day.” “The new German Christianity must be free of churches.” It is telling that Hans Jobst, the apologist of the national idea (cf. his Luther drama *The Prophets*), and Kolbenheyer also repeat the ideas of the aforementioned pioneers.

⁵⁵ Many of his thoughts recur in the politically national journal *Germany's Renewal*, led for 17 years by W. von Müffling.

2.4. Social Preparations ⁵⁶

As will be elaborated further below, it is precisely in this area that religiously faithful Catholic and Protestant Germans can align with the social demands of National Socialism over wide stretches without coming into conflict with their conscience. In various matters, we find great agreement with the social encyclicals of recent popes ⁵⁷. The main program points of National Socialism are: land reform ⁵⁸ (new rights for land ownership and inheritance, promotion of valuable hereditary lines, stability of land ownership), promotion of agriculture through the development of agricultural cooperatives ⁵⁹, rejection of over-industrialization ⁶⁰, debt relief for the peasantry and introduction of an agricultural labor law ⁶¹, fight

⁵⁶ The Catholic literature on this subject, which is almost inexhaustible, culminates in the great masterpieces on social issues by Pesch, Niederlack, and Johannes Wegner; Friedrich Pilsdorf, *The German Corporate State. National Socialist Community Policy and Economic Organization*, Alfred Kröner Publishing House, Leipzig 1936.

⁵⁷ Jarmer, *German Law and the National Socialist Concept of Property*, *National Socialist Monthly*, 1933, Issue 10, pp. 24–27; R. Walther Darré, *Damaschke and Agrarianism*; same author, *New Nobility from Blood and Soil*, pp. 34–40.

⁵⁸ W. Stahler, *The Social Encyclicals of the Popes 1832–1931*, Benzinger & Co. Publishing House, Einsiedeln-Cologne.

⁵⁹ R. Walther Darré, *The Peasantry as the Life Source of the Nordic Race*; Eugen Schach, *National Socialism and Cooperative System* (National Socialist Library).

⁶⁰ Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, pp. 245–302, 679–897.

⁶¹ W. Parchmann, *German Agriculture and Forestry in the National Socialist State*, pp. 10–21.

against capitalism ⁶² and usury ⁶³, suppression of trade unions built on class struggle through a reorganization in which factory capital and labor come closer together ⁶⁴, nationalization of large banks ⁶⁵, elimination of interest slavery ⁶⁶, cashless payment transactions ⁶⁷, promotion of private property in relation to the national community as opposed to the exaggeration of this concept in Roman private law ⁶⁸, development of the corporative idea and a

⁶² R. Walther Darré, *On the Rebirth of the Peasantry, Germany's Renewal*, 1933, Issue 11, pp. 941–949; M. Schönicke, *National Capitalism, The German People's Economy*, 1933, Issue 1, pp. 17–19.

⁶³ Gottfried Feder, *Fundamentals of National Socialist Economic Policy*, *National Socialist Yearbook*, 1932, pp. 197–305.

⁶⁴ Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, pp. 170–263.

⁶⁵ Gottfried Feder, *Fundamentals on the Financing Issue of the Job Creation Program*, *The German People's Economy*, 1932, Issue 8, pp. 143–149; same author, *The Manifesto for Breaking the Interest Slavery of Money*.

⁶⁶ and...

⁶⁷ Gottfried Feder, *Breaking Interest Slavery*, *National Socialist Monthly*, 1933, Issue 10, pp. 27–30.

⁶⁸ Gottfried Feder, *National Socialism and Property*, *The German People's Economy*, 1932, Issue 2, pp. 49–53; Jarmer, *German Law and the National Socialist Concept of Property*, *National Socialist Monthly*, 1933, Issue 10, pp. 14–37; Alfred Rosenberg, *Nordic-German Law*, *National Socialist Monthly*, 1939, Issue 7, pp. [incomplete page reference]. Valuation of Germanic and condemnation of Roman law:

“In the falsification of the Nordic honor-bound legal idea through Roman-Syrian influences lies one of the deepest causes of our current social disarray.” “In the Roman legal conception lies simultaneously the sanctified

healthy middle-class policy ⁶⁹, fight against women's work and the modern women's movement to revive the value of family and motherhood ⁷⁰, rejection of birth control ⁷¹, elimination of housing shortages ⁷², abolition of department stores and consumer cooperatives as harmful to the middle class ⁷³, pension provision ⁷⁴, and compulsory labor service (settlement system) ⁷⁵. Some program parts of National Socialism, however, belong more to the realm of pious wishes, such as the autarky of the economy ⁷⁶,

justification of individualistic capitalism. The economic worldview is valued highest..."

⁶⁹ Othmar Spann, *The True State*, pp. 192–306; Max Frauenborfer, *The Corporate Idea in National Socialism*, pp. 1–27 (National Socialist Library).

⁷⁰ Valentine Hamm, *The Woman in Germany: Transition and Ascent*, *National Socialist Monthly*, 1933, Issue 22, pp. 1–19.

⁷¹ Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, pp. 344–350.

⁷² Gottfried Feder, *The Housing Emergency and the Social Housing and Economic Bank as a Rescuer from Housing Shortages, Economic Crisis, and Unemployment Misery* (National Socialist Library).

⁷³ Gregor Strasser, *The National Socialist Job Creation Program*, *The German People's Economy*, 1932, Issue 8, pp. 135–142; Hans Buchner, *The Social-Capitalist Consumer Cooperatives* (National Socialist Library).

⁷⁴ Gottfried Feder, *The Program of the NSDAP*, p. 20.

⁷⁵ Gottfried Feder, *The German State on a National and Social Basis*, pp. 92–99 (National Socialist Library); J. Legmann, *On the Duty of Service to Property, Germany's Renewal*, 1931, Issue 9, pp. 345–347.

⁷⁶ Friedrich Hildebrandt, *National Socialism and the Working Class*, pp. 31–34 (National Socialist Library); Hans Heinrich, *German Living Space and German Economy*, *National Socialist Monthly*, 1931, Issue 13, pp. 224–229.

the decoupling of currency from gold ⁷⁷, the abolition of taxes ⁷⁸, and the elimination of interest income. On the latter issue, the Catholic Church, despite the fierce controversies of the 18th and 19th centuries, has only taken an indirect stance in several decisions of the Penitentiary ⁷⁹, without intending to solve the problem itself. These decisions of the Holy Penitentiary give the instruction: *silendum est*—an indication that a practical solution was simply not possible. National Socialism, therefore, has itself scaled back some of these social program points under the pressure of the global economy, as the economic interests of peoples and states in modern life are too deeply intertwined to unilaterally address such weighty problems. For this reason, it cannot be claimed that any political party in the past, whether interconfessional or confessionally bound, has always pursued a uncompromising path in the social domain. Anyone who closely examines the National Socialist economic program will also ascertain the sobering fact that the entire material incorporated into the articles of the party program had already been put forward as demands much earlier by leading writers of the Austrian Christian Social Party, the Catholic labor movement in Germany (Bishop von Ketteler), the Munich-Gladbach school (Hitze), and the circles around Baron Vogel von Falkenstein, the classic of these Christian-social reform efforts and particularly of the corporative state idea, as well as by the Christian-social

⁷⁷ Gregor Strasser, *The National Socialist Job Creation Program*, *The German People's Economy*, 1932, Issue 8, pp. 135–142; Johann Corner, *Peasant Class and National Socialism*, pp. 39–47 (National Socialist Library).

⁷⁸ Gottfried Feder, *The German State on a National and Social Basis*, pp. 322–343 (National Socialist Library).

⁷⁹ *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, p. 29, 258 ff.

movement founded in Berlin by court preacher Adolf Stoecker ⁸⁰. Significant agreements are also found with the social encyclicals of Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI. Precisely in the social domain, German Catholicism in the Reich and Austria (Hüger) ⁸¹ has performed exemplary work and, decades before the founding of National Socialism was even discussed, submitted proposals that could not be better formulated by the latter today. When, in calmer times, the history of the social struggles of the 19th century is written, no one will be able to dispute the fact that National Socialism could adopt valuable elements of its social demands from the mentioned political directions and personalities. The main issues—land reform, protective tariffs, interest prohibition, capitalism, corporative state, collective property forms—form the recurring problems of the social struggles of the 19th century in Catholic literature, though the conviction always prevails that more important than the best program demands is the cultivation of a new ethical economic mentality and a religious, deepened sense of duty toward fellow humans.

Moreover, as unclear as the idea of a corporatively organized state and the intended combination of state economic direction and private entrepreneurship still is in Germany, where its study has not progressed beyond initial attempts, it shows some kinship with the state construction begun by Fascism, influenced by Spann's ideas ⁸². The question of the correct economic form of the modern state has become the fundamental problem of all states, even though the means and methods will be nationally determined and effective only for a specific region under particular historical and economic conditions. In Germany, too, the ultimate goal will

⁸⁰ Walter Stang, cathedral preacher, *Adolf Stoecker and the Christian-Social Movement*, Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, Hamburg.

⁸¹ Cf. the apt judgment by Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, Vol. I.

⁸² Gerhard Gobbert, *The Fascist Economy*, Weimar Godding Publishing House, Berlin 1936; Ugo Mariani, O.S.A., *The Corporative Principles in the Papal Encyclicals*. (Excerpt from *Fascist Battles*, Notebook No. 3, Perugia.)

be the same as in the social program of the Action Française and that of Fascist Italy: to leave no economic domain untouched by state influence, from population issues to those of the market and foreign trade relations. National Socialism contains not only conservative but also revolutionary components and must, if it is not to end as romanticism or a wishful image, extend the totalitarian compulsion to the system onto social life. Thus, it reaches far beyond the social demands of its predecessors. It is essentially also socialism, and specifically of a German character ⁸³. Therefore, in accordance with the demands of the power state, it will seek to prevent any danger of the dissolution or fragmentation of national strength, social unrest, and class struggle, as has already begun in Italy through Fascist labor legislation, the law on trade unions of April 3, 1926, the labor constitution of the Carta del Lavoro of April 29, 1927, and the establishment of corporations. The social conception contained therein unmistakably bears a military imprint; the principle of duty prevails, not that of individual or collective rights. Moreover, the Fascist economic system combines private enterprise with state economy, thereby preventing strikes and lockouts as well as the overgrowth of private interests over the community's interests. Fascism, which seeks to displace the planned economy of the Soviet system with the corporative state ("Lo Stato fascista è corporativo o non è"), is, however, simpler and more direct in these economic and population-policy questions, while National Socialism burdens these efforts too heavily with other problems.

⁸³ The term appears for the first time in Constantin Stanz, *The Greatest Germany*, Wilhelm Gottlieb Korn Publishing House, Breslau 1935. Newly edited by Eugen Stamm. In Stanz, one of Germany's greatest publicists, thoughts can be found already 79 years ago that have today become National Socialist heritage.

III. RELIGIOUS, MORAL, AND LEGAL DOCTRINES OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

3.1. The Concept of Worldview

No term has been used as frequently in all its variants and nuances over the past decades as that of worldview. It has become a buzzword, often concealing much or nothing at all. This word is all the more dangerous because it cannot be adequately translated into other languages but can only be made understandable through paraphrases ⁸⁴, as many apply this term to areas of life with relative significance.

What is a worldview? ⁸⁵ A worldview is not synonymous with a world picture ⁸⁶. Goethe does not yet use this term, which first appears in Schelling (1799) ⁸⁷, although his contemporary Alexander von Humboldt wrote a history of worldviews. Humboldt understands it as the conceptions that humanity has formed over time about the inhabited parts of the Earth.

⁸⁴ Concetto di mondo, conception du monde. Der Reichswart, No. 89, 1935, September, writes in response to the article by Prof. Corns Leiss in the Berliner Tageblatt: "Worldview from the Perspective of a Word": "National Socialism restores honor to the word 'worldview.' It can and must do so because it itself has emerged from a true worldview, that is, from its way of perceiving the world, and in all its manifestations strives to realize this worldview."

⁸⁵ Cf. on the Catholic side: *The Church in the Turning of the Times*, edited by Kleineidam and Zug. *Spirit or Blood?* by Cesidius Breitenstein, O.F.M. *Myth or Religion?*, *Worldview* by Paul Simon, Bonifatius Printing House Publishing, Paderborn; from earlier times, compare also the still highly valuable book in many respects, *Catholic Worldview and Modern Thinking, Collected Essays on the Main Stations of Modern Philosophy*, by Franz X. Kiefl, Publishing House formerly J. Regensburg 1922.

⁸⁶ Moeller van den Bruck, *Worldview, the Third Reich* (special edition).

⁸⁷ Alfred Sohe, in *Euphorion, Journal for Literary History*, Vol. 25, 1924.

Hegel and Schelling, however, understand it only as the sum of thoughts one forms about the world in the sense of the cosmos, to comprehend the origin and events of the world.

How do the two concepts of religion and worldview relate, which some National Socialist circles regard as opposites or essentially different concepts? The Christian religion, as revelation, is not a worldview in the proper sense, and when it proclaims the origin, events, and destiny of the world, it does not intend to convey a worldview in the physical sense. Therefore, the concepts of worldview and religion cannot simply be equated, for there exists a worldview that fundamentally excludes religion, namely the worldview of materialism.

Socialism, too, has adopted the term worldview, although this doctrine, which aimed to reorder human society within its system, never directly addressed the origin of the cosmos. However, because the term became increasingly fluid, liberal-bourgeois, conservative-democratic, socialist-proletarian, and free-religious worldviews soon emerged. To achieve clarity, one would need to distinguish primarily between philosophical and political worldviews, although the latter is often connected to the former and receives its intellectual guidelines from it. Is there, therefore, a worldview of National Socialism in the philosophical sense, as the Freiburg University professor Hermann Schwarz, the founder of the philosophy of the “non-given,” attempts to argue when he explains everything—state and intellectual life—from the religious perspective?⁸⁸ The party program itself avoids such a conceptualization and treats Christianity as a given that must be politically reckoned with, just as its division into various denominations is, without passing judgment on the legitimacy of this Christian religion or its confessional fragmentations. Thus, if one takes the party program as such, it initially refers to a worldview in the political sense. In contrast, in the leading literature, the

⁸⁸ National Socialist Worldview, Junker & Dünnhaupt Publishing House, Berlin 1933, free contributions to the philosophy of National Socialism from the years 1929 to 1933.

term worldview is used in the philosophical, religious, and cultural sense, inevitably leading to contradictions, conflicts of conscience, and tensions for anyone who reflects deeply on this question.

An example of this conceptual confusion is provided by Otto Bangert, *German Revolution*, Munich, Verlag Fr. Eher, 1933/32, pp. 77–95:

“When it is reproached that National Socialism lacks or is a worldview, this is primarily because the National Socialist worldview cannot be grasped purely intellectually but, as it sprang from the blood, must also be understood through the blood. National Socialism as a worldview cannot be taught; it must be experienced!”

Rosenberg, in particular, has interpreted the term worldview in multiple ways. Compare the following passages!

In the speech that Alfred Rosenberg delivered on February 22, 1934, before leading men of the state and party, including representatives of religions (according to the *Völkischer Beobachter*):

“In the field of philosophy and religious life, profound struggles and upheavals are currently taking place. Here, the stance of our movement has been unequivocal from the first day, and this position, once taken, will not be altered by the NSDAP as a party or as a state.... Its leader, therefore, as a true statesman and national leader, has taken the standpoint that the great struggle movement must keep its distance from the individual differences of opinion in religious life. The NSDAP has always declared that it recognizes and is willing to protect every genuine religious confession that does not contradict Germanic values.”

“We respect the faith of the state-recognized churches, but also every striving that seeks new religious forms. We do not know whether the aspirations for a German national church will succeed or not; we understand and respect it when the failure of these confessional attempts is clearly stated by other denominations, but we do not claim the right, neither as a movement nor as a state, to dismiss these efforts as immature offshoots.”

“We must grant every National Socialist, as a personality, the right to take a stance on the individual questions of our time as their conscience dictates.”

“If we want to be nothing but Germans in the brown shirt, then we will, should someone among us engage with religious questions or debates, prohibit them from wearing the brown shirt. No National Socialist is permitted to conduct public religious discussions in the uniform of their movement. The National Socialist Party has not fought for religious dogmas and will not fight for them.”

“Every worldview is only as strong as the will of its bearers to defend it.”

In stark contrast, the essay published by Alfred Rosenberg in the *Völkischer Beobachter* for the year-end of 1934 (issue of December 31), titled “The Struggle for Spiritual and Cultural Formation,” states:

“The National Socialist revolution derives its meaning through the worldview and sacrifice; it cannot renounce its worldview and content itself with mere state politics, but state politics here is the domestic safeguard for the external formation of National Socialist core ideas. The unity of worldview, nation, and state is the unalterable goal of the National Socialist movement, yesterday, today, and tomorrow.”

Similarly, in the lecture on January 17, 1935, in Berlin:

“German National Socialism, the worldview founded on blood and soil, is not a universalist dogma; that is, it neither claims in its asserted premises nor in its conclusions to influence foreign peoples and races. But it believes that with its confession, it returns to an honorable awe of nature and its laws. The National Socialist worldview, therefore, appears to us as a conscious return from those forms of life that did not consider the essence of different peoples and races, as a rejection of universally valid cultural-scientific doctrines, and as an attempt at an elevated and simultaneously deepened self-awareness of one’s own driving forces in precisely these areas.”

The continuous shift of concepts with the same words inevitably causes dangers in National Socialism as soon as it is elevated beyond the

purely political, contrary to its program. Whoever speaks of the philosophical foundations of National Socialism already sees in it more than a political system. Is National Socialism a worldview in the proper sense? This must also be understood in the context of Otto Dietrich ⁸⁹ and Walter Frank ⁹⁰. Both, however, with their worldview-philosophical interpretation of National Socialism, stop where the real problems and philosophical work truly begin. Dietrich argues that the intellectual worldview of most philosophies of the past was individualism, while community-conscious thinking represents the particular National Socialist innovation in German philosophy. Community-conscious thinking, combined with racial-biological thinking, is the only real sphere of human life on this earth. This representation, however, is no less an axiom than the former individualism, which saw the value and meaning of life only in the individual and justified the community and state merely by their service function for the individual.

When, on the other hand, Dietrich claims that the individual human being has no freedom at all, as they are a collective human in all actions, it is Hegel speaking through him, for whom the state alone is concrete freedom, and the community is nothing but the acceptance of its bonds. As much as Dietrich wrestles with the problem of saving the values of personality within this collectivism, the foundations of his philosophy are only race, nation, and state. “The actual realities we find in the world are not individual humans but races, peoples, and nations.”

Even less clear is the justification of a National Socialist philosophy in Frank.

⁸⁹ *The Philosophical Foundations of National Socialism*, Ferdinand Hirt Publishing House, Breslau 1935.

⁹⁰ *Fighting Science*, Hanseatic Publishing House, Hamburg 1934.

Fundamental points ⁹¹:

1. No true worldview can focus on the whole and, instead of analysis, fragmentation, and juxtaposition, must provide synthesis, totality, and integration to counter any danger of one-sidedness and narrowing.

2. Christianity is oriented toward the whole, as its name Catholic already suggests. Therefore, alongside this religion, there can be no independent worldview in the philosophical-cultural sense, except as a substitute for a lost Christianity.

3. Every worldview in the proper sense strives for the totality of life. Therefore, a true worldview belongs only to those who uniformly answer the ultimate questions of human existence regarding the origin and goal of life and who reflect and live out this answer to its final conclusions.

4. According to Christian teaching, a genuine worldview can only be derived from religion; it must encompass humanity and God. It must not remain limited to nation and state or even to domestic politics. The Christian says: I can die for nation and state, but I must not make them a religion on the path to a new worldview. I can commit to German national identity and a social ethic based on a fervent love for soil and people, but I cannot place nationalism and socialism as a worldview in the original sense of the term in place of faith in God.

5. From a Christian perspective and also from the standpoint of prudent state politics, it would therefore be more correct to speak only of a political world picture in National Socialism and not of a worldview, as the latter term already implies more and encroaches on the religious. A political world picture, on the other hand, does not necessarily presuppose a specific religious commitment; in other words, just as the secularization of religion must be avoided, so too must a religionization of National Socialism be prevented for the sake of conceptual clarity. Both would complicate the

⁹¹ The Way Forward. A Book on Religion and Worldview by Wolfgang Gröbner, Wilhelm Braumüller Publishing House, Vienna and Leipzig 1934. Particularly enlightening is Karl Lichtweiser, The Truth of the Teaching of Worldview, in the journal *German Volkstum*, March issue 1939, pp. 174–178.

inner unity of the people and completely contradict the program of National Socialism. The co-founder and champion of the Jewish Labor Service, who was shaped into a convinced National Socialist in the forge of life, the evangelical theology professor Caius Fabricius, has expressed thoughts in his latest work ⁹² that fully align with the preceding statements over wide stretches.

⁹² Positive Christianity, Pfischel Publishing House, Dresden 1939.

3.2. Positive Christianity

An unshakable program point of National Socialism is the commitment to positive Christianity. However this term is interpreted, it means Christianity and not paganism. It is simultaneously an acknowledgment of the Christian past of the German people and a contrast to Bolshevik godless propaganda. Several questions arise immediately when examining this term more closely, which is not a National Socialist neologism but is found earlier in theological scholarship ⁹³.

Is it equivalent to a practically lived, faithful Christianity? Does it reject the Christianity taught by liberal representatives of 19th-century Protestant theology, in which ecclesiastical positive and ecclesiastical liberal were pitted against each other? Does this Christianity signify a natural, heroic life ideal with the rejection of the Christian teachings of humility, love, and sin? Is it a Christianity without dogmas or merely an Old Germanic, more hero-emphasizing interpretation of Christianity in the sense of a dogma-less Christianity? However, a dogma-less Christianity ⁹⁴ cannot be understood in this formulation of Article 24, for without dogma, there is no concrete community, no Christianity, and also no political party. No one has recognized this more clearly than Hitler when he states in his confessional writing (p. 295) that “without the dogmatic foundations of the individual churches, the practical existence of a religious faith is unthinkable.” “The attack against dogmas as such, therefore, strongly resembles the struggle against the general legal foundations of the state, and just as the latter” (i.e., the struggle against the state) “would find its end in

⁹³ The leader organ of the Hitler Youth, 1934, p. 46, writes: “The term ‘positive Christianity’ was coined by National Socialism and included in its program. A ‘definition’ of this term is therefore reserved solely for National Socialism.”

⁹⁴ Thus, Lagarde, in the sense of the historical theology of Protestantism, regarded dogma as a “coercive belief proposition.”

complete state anarchy, so the other” (i.e., the attack against dogmas) “in a worthless religious nihilism.”⁹⁵

The term positive Christianity is defined in Article 24 of the party program, which includes a restriction regarding the Germanic sense of morality, but these words do not necessarily have to be applied to the positive Christianity mentioned subsequently, based on the overall context. Additionally, there are statements from various authorized leaders that clarify the term.

Article 24 of the program of the National Socialist German Workers' Party reads:

“We demand the freedom of all religious confessions in the state, insofar as they do not endanger its existence or offend the moral and ethical sense of the Germanic race.

The party as such stands for the standpoint of a positive Christianity, without binding itself confessionally to a specific denomination. It fights against the Jewish-materialist spirit within and outside us and is convinced that a lasting recovery of our people can only succeed from within on the basis: common good before individual good.”

Gottfried Feder provides the following commentary on Article 24 of the program:

“The culture of the Middle Ages stood under the sign of the cross; great deeds, willingness to sacrifice, and courage of faith found their roots in Christianity. One must carefully distinguish between the inner, spiritual core of Christianity and the manifold excesses of its worldly manifestations. Certainly, the German people will one day find a form for its knowledge of

⁹⁵ In this regard, cf. what can be read in the September issue of 1933 of the evangelical monthly *Zeitwende*, p. 373: “No doubt, we live in a thoroughly dogmatic era. The NSDAP has its firmly established program, which must not be shaken. The state of the Third Reich has adopted it and is in the process of implementing it uncompromisingly in all areas of life and culture. Only the Church might be reproached by some for steadfastly and unwaveringly adhering to its dogmas.”

God, its divine life, as its Nordic blood demands; only then will the trinity of blood, faith, and state be complete. The awareness of the Nordic idea will also prove to be of great significance in this area. But these are all thoughts of secular importance that go beyond the framework of such a fundamental program as National Socialism proclaims.”⁹⁶

Hitler himself, as the sole authorized interpreter of the program, expresses himself in several passages of his book *Mein Kampf*:

“The movement regards both religious confessions as equally valuable supports for the existence of our people.” (p. 379.) “To the political leader, the religious doctrines and institutions of his people must always be inviolable; otherwise, he must not be a politician but should become a reformer, if he has the qualities for it.” (p. 127.) “Even if there were indeed much to criticize about individual confessions, the political party must not for a moment lose sight of the fact that, according to all previous historical experience, no purely political party in similar circumstances has ever succeeded in bringing about a religious reformation.” (p. 128.)

Positive Christianity, according to these clear words of the Führer, is above all Christianity as it is; more precisely—since the program is initially intended for the German Reich—Christianity as it exists in the German Reich. However, Christianity in the German Reich is divided into a series of confessions. This is not an ideal state; it is, however, “positively” given and cannot be changed in the foreseeable future. By declaring that the party stands for the standpoint of positive Christianity, the program establishes that, once in power, it will accept this state of affairs and fundamentally refrain from any attempt to change it through state measures. That this is the meaning of the program is also evident from the remarks about it, which have been expressly approved by the leader of the party. These remarks state on this point:

“All questions, hopes, and wishes, whether the German people will one day find a new form for its knowledge of God and its divine life, are of

⁹⁶ *The Program of the NSDAP and Its Worldview Foundations*, 30th edition, p. 49, Eher Publishing House, Munich 1930.

little importance; these are matters of secular significance that go far beyond the framework of such a fundamental program as that proclaimed by National Socialism.”

The wording of this passage, until the year 1933, read ⁹⁷:

“Certainly, the German people will one day find a form for its knowledge of God, its divine life, as its Nordic blood demands; only then will the trinity of blood, faith, and state be complete. The awareness of the Nordic idea will also prove to be of great significance in this area. But these are matters of secular importance that go beyond the framework of such a fundamental program as that proclaimed by National Socialism.”

In contrast, the appeal of the Reich government to the German people on February 1, 1933, contains a much clearer statement:

“The national government will preserve and defend the foundations on which the strength of our nation rests. It will take Christianity, as the basis of our entire morality, and the family, as the nucleus of our national and state body, under its firm protection.”

On March 23, 1933, the Reich Chancellor was even more explicit in his major programmatic speech before the Reichstag:

“The national government regards the two Christian confessions as the most important factors for the preservation of our national identity. It will respect the treaties concluded between them and the states. Their rights shall not be infringed.... It will face all confessions with objective justice.... The concern of the government is aimed at the sincere coexistence of church and state. The fight against a materialist worldview, which serves a

⁹⁷ The phrase about the “moral and ethical sensibility of the Germanic race” in Point 24 of the National Socialist program received many critical comments from Catholic circles before the seizure of power, as they believed these words also applied to the “positive Christianity” particularly promoted by the movement. Such a limitation of Christianity would undoubtedly be incompatible with the supernatural character of the Christian religion, whose morality must not be determined by ethnicity or race if it is to remain revelation and a world religion. Incidentally, the two terms “morality and ethical sensibility” constitute a “tautology.”

true national community, promotes the interests of German religion as much as the welfare of our Christian faith.”

In contrast, the leadership organ of the National Socialist youth movement, *Will and Power*, on April 17, 1933, defines the term positive Christianity in a much narrower sense in an article titled “Positive Christianity”:

“National Socialism does not categorically reject Christianity—whether it appears as a church or as a faith, in a political or religious context—but affirms it only when it is positive, when it establishes boundaries within itself and toward political power, as has been indicated.

What is political? Political is everything that appears in the living forms of organization, values, and education, of spirit and action, and has even the slightest significance for the community of the people. And what is religious? Religious is everything that, in forms not graspable by the living, appears as faith in the transcendent, as a sense of infinity, as a longing for things beyond the world visible to humans.”

According to this interpretation, which aligns with the program of National Socialism, the “positive Christianity” of National Socialism would be a religion that, detached from tradition and dogmatic ties, takes the human personality of Christ as its focal point, and even then only insofar as it embodies “heroic” values. In this sense, Protestant, Christ-believing circles, particularly those around Stapel, whose journal *Deutsches Volkstum* and works ⁹⁸ are significant for National Socialism, understood the concept of positive Christianity from the movement’s outset:

“We assert that the conception of morality as a ‘universal law’ with a systematic order of virtues and vices is itself racially conditioned. It is the Roman, Mediterranean conception. In contrast, the understanding of morality as an immediate liveliness of ‘feeling’ is specifically Germanic. The

⁹⁸ *The Christian Statesman; The Church of Christ and the State of Hitler; National Civic Education* (all published by the Hanseatic Publishing House, Hamburg).

Germanic person does not ask the priest as the possessor of higher moral knowledge, but their own heart. Mart calls this ‘inwardness.’

In the struggle over ‘Point 24,’ therefore, Roman and Germanic conceptions clash over what the church is, whether it is a moral and thus political power or a pure redemptive power.”

In opposition to the official statements of Article 24 cited earlier, Alfred Rosenberg also stands, whose theological ideas are influenced by Wellhausen, Stade, Harnack, and Nietzsche. His position in National Socialism is so significant that, even as a private individual, he cannot undertake anything against this article without being a false herald of the party⁹⁹. This creates a contradiction when Rosenberg, in the introduction to *The Myth of the 20th Century* (p. 2), claims that the ideas presented there are “entirely personal confessions and not program points of the political movement to which he belongs.” While he explicitly rejects (p. 14) being the “founder of a new religion” in *The Myth*, he proclaims a worldview system with many details that must be described as a religion or religious substitute. His words repeatedly assert a distinct Germanic sense of law and morality, claiming that the Christian teaching of humility has distorted the Germanic character. The following words from *The Myth* (p. 598) are unmistakable:

“The prerequisite for any German education is the recognition of the fact that it is not Christianity that brought us form, but that Christianity owes its lasting values to the Germanic character.... The Germanic character values are therefore the eternal, by which everything else must be measured. Whoever does not recognize this renounces a German rebirth and pronounces their own spiritual death sentence. A man or a movement that wants to help these values achieve complete victory has the moral right not to spare the opposing. They have the duty to spiritually overcome it, organizationally let it wither, and politically render it powerless. However,

⁹⁹ *Mythos and Ethos, An Engagement with Alfred Rosenberg*, German Volkstum, 17, 1935, p. 351.

if a cultural will becomes a mere power enterprise, it should not begin its struggle at all.”

This view is found almost verbatim in Lagarde¹⁰⁰, as well as repeatedly in the Gospel criticism of Protestant historical theology. It has grown on the same soil from which liberal theology sprang, with Strauss, Harnack, and others. On many Protestant pulpits and lecterns in Germany, such and similar views were expressed long before the World War.

In general, it can be observed that the teachings of liberal Protestant theology in Germany today have effects similar to the Enlightenment philosophy of Diderot and d’Alembert, which initially affected only the educated circles of France but, after several decades, penetrated the people and later found its magical realization and tragedy in the bloodbath of the French Revolution. There is a world tribunal immanent in historical development. Perhaps the words of the Bible can be applied: “The sons will atone for the sins of their fathers.”

The names Renan, Strauss, Feuerbach, and Harnack resonate repeatedly through these modern interpretive attempts of the concept of “positive Christianity.” After decades of continuous erosion of the substance of Christianity in German Protestantism, the debate today revolves around the last fragile remnants of a religious world uprooted in wide circles. However, it must not be overlooked that these conceptual interpretations completely contradict the party program and the classic confessional statements of Adolf Hitler.

According to Rosenberg, who seeks to extract only the “active” traits from the life image of Christ that best correspond to the Nordic soul, the hallmarks of positive Christianity (*The Myth*, p. 202) are honor, freedom, and duty, as well as a religious subjectivism that passionately resists any dogmatic and ecclesiastical ties. As little tangible as we learn about positive Christianity from Rosenberg, his statements about “negative” Christianity (*The Myth*, p. 77) are all the more unambiguous, which, according to him,

¹⁰⁰ German Writings, *On the Relationship of the German State to Ideology, Church, and Religion*.

primarily originated from the suffering Christ and was shaped by priestly rule based on Syrian-Semitic traditions. For Rosenberg, the so-called positive Christianity is Nietzsche's religiously cloaked blood myth, a Christianly shimmering racial faith, a subjective religious feeling that, in hostility to dogma-bound church faith, opposes it.

While Rosenberg sees in Christianity a decadent worldview, something obsolete that must not be opposed to avoid domestic political difficulties, Hitler, at the 1934 Nuremberg Party Congress, passed a much more objective judgment, acknowledging the merits of the Christian religion in unifying the tribes in the past.

Many fundamental questions, belonging to the fields of comparative religious studies, dogma, and history, would need to be addressed here to clearly establish that Rosenberg's interpretation of "positive Christianity" cannot possibly align with that of the program and Hitler. A large part of the uncertainty with which Rosenberg and many like-minded circles approach these questions likely stems from their viewing Christianity too much through the lens of Roman culture, as if Christianity and Roman culture were two mutually exclusive concepts. On the other hand, the varied interpretations of the term "positive Christianity" demonstrate how vague it is in a political program that naturally knows no dogmatic or philosophical delineations but only practical life and consideration of party-political advantages. How difficult it would be to delve deeper into this entire field and determine what exactly Germanic character and German piety entail! Is Christianity not congenial to the Germanic character? Has it led to a destruction or an elevation of Germanic religious thinking? Comparing the divinity of German mysticism with that of other peoples, one can hardly speak of essential differences. Yet Nietzsche's worldview, which surges like a torrent in so many aspects of National Socialism, has poisoned the essence of Christianity for an entire generation and created oppositions that will resonate in the German soul for a long

time ¹⁰¹. It is staggering to trace the impact of this one-sided National Socialist interpretation of positive Christianity in contemporary literature ¹⁰², which wrongly cites Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (p. 447).

Thus, the concept of positive Christianity, as presented by leading National Socialist literature, contains manifold mysteries that make a clear interpretation difficult. One can see in it only a general formulation, practically necessitated by Germany's confessional division, or a restriction of the universal character of Christianity, which, being of divine origin, should not be measured by racial feelings and national cultural circles but rather generates them from itself. The latter interpretation of the concept of "positive Christianity," which contradicts Hitler's clear words, would, however, end in error. Against these manifold interpretations of the two fundamental concepts of "worldview" and "positive Christianity" by individual writers, which consciously oppose the original program of National Socialism, an unclarity and uncertainty of the entire system arises in its further conclusions.

¹⁰¹ Judaism, Christianity, Germanness by Friedrich Nietzsche, Documents on Contemporary History, Paul Stegemann Publishing House, Berlin 1934, edited by Paul Bergenbagen.

¹⁰² Alfred Müller, *Racial Degeneration Under the Cross*, Adolf Klein Publishing House, Leipzig.

3.3. The Race Question ¹⁰³

With this question, we touch a core point of the worldview-based National Socialism, its foundational dogma and leading idea, which, through belief in the value of blood and the assumption of different “racial souls,” is intended to provide entirely new insights into history, religion,

¹⁰³ Decisive are the various works by Hans Günther, who describes himself as an ultra-Darwinist and has laid the intellectual foundations for the legislation of a National Socialist legal system: *Racial Science of the German People*, first published in 1924. *The Nordic Idea Among the Germans*, 1925. *Short Racial Science of the German People*. *Racial Science of Europe*. *Racial Science of the Jewish People*. *Nordic Strength Among the Indo-Europeans*.

Ernst Rittershaus, *Constitution or Race*, J. G. Lehmann Publishing House, Munich 1934; Ernst Kühn, *Racial Hygiene in the Political State*, Lehmann Publishing House, Munich 1934.

The Information Office for Population Policy and Racial Care, Berlin SW 11, Reich Service Agency, publishes, in execution of the regulations issued by Reich Ministers Frick and Hess for the entire field of population policy, the monthly *New People*, Papers of the Information Office for Population Policy and Racial Care. The *Journal for Racial Science* has quickly risen to become the most respected anthropological specialist organ in the German-speaking area (Ferdinand Hirt Publishing House, Stuttgart). It owes this to the program of its editor, Egon Freiherr von Eickstedt (Breslau), who attempts to make the “holistic” method, which equally considers body and soul, the research tool of anthropology.

Cf. also Oswald Menghin, *Spirit and Blood*, Anton Schroll Publishing House, Vienna 1934, especially the sections: *Race, Language, and Culture*, *The Scientific Foundations of the Jewish Question*. A complement is the publication: *The Equality of European Races and the Paths to Their Perfection*. Edited by Karel Weigner, Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and Arts, Prague 1934.

and culture ¹⁰⁴. Soon, according to the judgment of radically inclined circles, there will be not only an economic and political but also a racial imperialism ¹⁰⁵.

The organ of the Hitler Youth, *Will and Power*, writes (p. 1, 1933): “We believe that the spirit is also subject to racial dominance. Race is everything, race is destiny,” and further (p. 8) in an article on “Race and Worldview”:

“Racial thinking makes no sharp distinction between nature and spirit but sees both connected through what is called the soul. The means of expression of nature belong to the landscape, the abilities of the spirit to the human. Thus, human and landscape are not strictly separable but are different manifestations of a unity. This unity is race. Between landscape and human stands race, and in it, landscape and human are united. Thus, the soul is the means of expression of race; indeed, it is race itself. The concept of the soul now takes on an entirely new meaning that it has always lacked. Soul is race, that which is between nature and spirit, which is simultaneously nature and spirit.”

In the October issue of 1933: “The discovery of race is the Copernican act of modern times. The sciences of nature and history, long separated, are uniting today to draw the consequences of this tremendous discovery. When Kepler and Galileo completed the work of Copernicus, they were threatened by the church. Science has shown us, with the humanity of masculine courage, where we stand. No masculine spirit has become smaller through gazing into this abyss, though some have become harder and sterner. With science, the church has been on bad terms since

¹⁰⁴ Rosenberg, *The Essential Structure of National Socialism*, pp. 17–18; Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, pp. 433–467, 481.

¹⁰⁵ In the older books of the Lehmann Publishing House, Munich, on race, one unfortunately often finds thoughts that can be described, in Nietzsche’s terms, as examples of racial arrogance and self-overestimation.

the timid beginnings of modern natural science ¹⁰⁶. After centuries, the church has finally adapted to the modern scientific worldview. It has recognized that it can still exist with the revision of our natural worldview. The Copernican turn in the field of the historical worldview places the church in an entirely different danger. This church is itself a historical construct. Through the discovery of races and peoples that have shaped it, the notion of its supernatural unity is destroyed. The Copernican worldview was a harmlessness compared to the new racial worldview of human history.”

Particularly guiding are Rosenberg’s words (1935 Party Congress): “We believe that the greatest discovery of our time lies in the experience and the strictly scientific proof that it is no coincidence when people of different kinds walk this earth, when different states, cultures, and forms of life arise from the conditions of these characteristics, and that thus blood and character are merely different words for the same essence.

We know that a nation is represented by the predominance of a specific, blood-conditioned character; further by language, geographical environment, and a politically shared sense of destiny. But we also know that the latter conditions are not the ultimate ones, and that blood, the racial dominance within a nation, represents the decisive element.”

Further, at the 1935 Nuremberg Party Congress ¹⁰⁷: “The party is convinced that racial science will form the foundation for a future deeper self-awareness of individual peoples regarding the decisive drives of their actions, the uniqueness of the soul of nations, and what is truly and

¹⁰⁶ It would not be difficult to refute this claim with a series of Catholic scholars of natural sciences to whom humanity owes significant progress, although they were equally deeply rooted in Christian religiosity and scientific rigor (Secchi, Hagen, Pasteur, etc.).

¹⁰⁷ Equally clear are the statements by Walter Groß, the head of the Racial Policy Office of the movement, cf. his speech *The Race in the New Historical Image*, delivered at the seminar for Hitler Youth leaders at the Academy for Politics in Berlin (full text in the Bavarian People’s Newspaper of February 4, 1936).

necessarily significant for their culture. Beyond this, this self-awareness will also demand respect for the uniqueness of other races and enable every creative ego to recognize itself. Racial science has become the standard-bearer of a new understanding of ancient culture and the tensions within the structure of Western civilization.”

The extent to which this dogma permeates everything is also evidenced by the following words of Helmut Schubert, editor for press issues in the Racial Policy Office of the NSDAP, Berlin ¹⁰⁸:

“The racial idea is the foundation of the worldview that was elevated to state doctrine on January 30, 1933. Through the clear separation of German from foreign heritage, the national community is to be established, in which all native forces can become effective without restriction by foreign influences. The ultimate goal is the equation of national community and blood community. Our worldview declares the unity of race as the highest value criterion. With this, we have rediscovered the laws of life according to which a thousand-year-old Western culture has developed.”

In all these statements, heavily influenced by Chamberlain, people, nation, and race appear as synonymous terms.

The racial idea is placed so centrally by some representatives in the entire National Socialist program that it appears almost as the foundational dogma of the entire movement, with all legal demands somehow seeking their justification in it. It is therefore considered a sign of liberalism in leading National Socialist literature to deny the influence of race on history, destiny, and the culture of peoples and to seek to replace it with social and intellectual influences. Any strong emphasis on spiritual forces in the cultural development of peoples is labeled a betrayal of the movement’s

¹⁰⁸ German Press, Journal of the Reich Association of the German Press, No. 1, January 8, 1938.

foundations ¹⁰⁹. Only blood and race, not social position, social history, or a religious confession, essentially determine peoples and cultures.

Thus, there is already talk of a racial soul science, which Ludwig Ferdinand Clauss claims to have established as a science ¹¹⁰, after recognizing the necessity of a national psychology and a revaluation of the German human in the front-line experience and the upheavals of the post-war period. Much human observation combines in this racial dogma with artistic imagination and bold intuition, although serious science has not yet reached indisputable conclusions. Above all, the consistency of spiritual racial characteristics ¹¹¹, the impact of Mendelism on intellectual life, and the determination of spiritual racial peculiarities have not been clarified, so it seems daring to explain cultural rise and decline solely through the blood value of race, unless one wants to end in materialism.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Hans Sailer, *The Path of the German Race, An Outline of German Racial Science*, Felix Meiner Publishing House, Leipzig 1934. Against him wrote the head of the Racial Policy Office, Dr. W. Groß, *The Idea Remains Pure*, *People's Observer*, January 23, 1935.

¹¹⁰ Cf. his books *The Nordic Soul, An Introduction to Racial Psychology, Race and Soul, An Introduction to the Meaning of Living Form*, J. G. Lehmann Publishing House, Munich; *Race and Character, Part 1*, Diesterweg Publishing House, Frankfurt am Main, 1936.

These purposes are also served by the monthly journal of the Nordic movement *Race* (1934 ff.), Teubner Publishing House, Leipzig-Berlin, as well as *People and Race. Illustrated Monthly for German Volkstum, Racial Science, Racial Care. Society for Racial Hygiene*. J. G. Lehmann Publishing House, Munich. Compare also Bruno Petermann, Private Lecturer for Psychology at the University of Kiel, *The Problem of the Racial Soul*. J. F. Barth Publishing House, Leipzig 1935.

¹¹¹ Egon Freiherr von Eickstedt, *Foundations of Racial Psychology*, Ferdinand Hirt Publishing House, Stuttgart 1936.

The racial idea itself is of French origin, as a biological worldview with an anthropocentric world picture, a reawakening of the ideas of Ernst Haeckel, who is rightly included in the pantheon of National Socialism ¹¹².

It is a paradoxical fact that two Frenchmen, one noble and one bourgeois, Georges Sorel ¹¹³, coined two terms that were to gain tremendous significance in the intellectual and political confrontations of the immediate present, and that precisely in the country where, through Gobineau (*Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*), Taine (*Introduction à l'Histoire de la Littérature anglaise*, 1865), and Darwin's disciple, Spencer, Galton, and Haeckel, Count Georges Vacher de Lapouge (*Sélections sociales*, 1896) ¹¹⁴ first highlighted the significance of race for the development of cultures, racial differences play no role whatsoever in state life or general consciousness.

Count Arthur de Gobineau explained history as a struggle between superior and inferior races. The Nordic race appeared to him as the culture-bearer and culture-creator par excellence. Richard Wagner, who met Gobineau in Rome, Venice, and Bayreuth, personally pointed out in the *Bayreuther Blätter* of 1881 to what he considered an epochal work by the count. Wagner wrote about the "new friend" who "revealed to us" a "chaos of impotence and ignorance."

Since the enthusiasm of the master, Wagnerians could no longer escape the spell of Gobineau. Houston Stewart Chamberlain, the Englishman with Germany as his chosen homeland, became the popularizer who carried out the necessary simplification for widespread dissemination. Chamberlain, though coming from the natural sciences, particularly botany,

¹¹² Heinz Bücher, Ernst Haeckel, A Pioneer of Biological State Thinking, *National Socialist Monthly*, December issue 1935.

¹¹³ *Reflexions sur la violence*, Paris 1907.

¹¹⁴ A predecessor in this regard was Comte de Boulainvilliers († 1722), Montesquieu († 1755), and the Italian Francesco Montefredini († 1292)!

worked primarily with “intuition.” Intuition and synthesis, he valued and loved; scientific minutiae he presupposed but did not pursue himself.

Gobineau, to whose brilliant intuition we undoubtedly owe deeper insights into the significance of races in the life of peoples, on which a new historical philosophy research can be built, did not himself question the immutability of moral values nor, despite his preference for Germanic prehistory, adopt an anti-Christian stance. This racial doctrine, skillfully developed by Gobineau’s disciples, is no longer dispensable in the German scientific life of our days and is gradually extending to various other fields.

There are already historical accounts ¹¹⁵ in which the earlier division of European national development ¹¹⁶ has been abandoned, and the deeper

¹¹⁵ Decisive are the relevant thoughts by Alfred Rosenberg, *Revaluation of German History*. The speech is printed in the January issue 1935 of the training letter of the Reich Training Office of the NSDAP.

K. Reichenauer, *The Race as a Life Law in History and Development*, Teubner Publishing House, Leipzig-Berlin 1934; K. Zimmermann, *German History as Racial Destiny*, Quelle & Meyer Publishing House, Leipzig 1934; Ludwig Schemann, *The Race in the Humanities*; E. Bauer, *The Decline of Cultural Peoples in the Light of Biology*; both published by Lehmann Publishing House, Munich. Some works, such as those by Richard Reichenauer, *Music and Race*, Paul Schulze-Naumburg, *Art and Race*, also Lehmann Publishing House, Munich, partly belong to the realm of fantasy and Gleichschaltung literature.

As early as 1933, an H. Hochberg had completed a “National Socialist” revision of the entire German history in one volume—terribly “poor.” Soon, the Party had to take action against the misuse of the word “National Socialism.” A similar fate befell another equally prolific “historian,” Heinrich Bauer, in the leader journal of the National Socialist Youth Will and Power (Issue 2, January 15).

¹¹⁶ In this sense, Ludiger writes, *The Tasks of the New Struggle*, in the National Socialist youth journal Will and Power (Issue 15, 1935): “We no longer see the meaning of world history in whether the development of the West was set on an inevitable course through the influence of Christianity, ... but rather in how far the vital forces of blood have asserted themselves in the struggle with and

causes of intellectual development are sought solely in race. Thus, at the conference of prehistory researchers in Halle on October 6, 1934, the regional leader Professor Reinerth, who proposed the establishment of a Reich Institute for German Prehistory, could express the following thoughts after Alfred Rosenberg had outlined the principles of National Socialist historical conception:

“The struggle for German prehistory did not first arise from the questions of the last decades but began as early as the time when, under the Merovingians and Carolingians, the strength of the Germans was broken by the introduction of an alien form of communal life. However, alongside this foreignization, the struggle for what is native began, which has now entered its decisive stage.

The true enemy of a native historical perspective has always been Romanism, which viewed the matters of our prehistory through the lens and with the standards of the South. While the Romanist camp repeatedly sounds the warning that the foreign world will never recognize Nordic thinking, it can be firmly stated in response that precisely the shared Indo-Germanic foundation represents the strongest unifying force among European peoples. Yet, alongside the relatively easy task of enlightening the foreign world, stands the no less difficult one of overcoming all enemies within our own land.”

against folk cultures and led to the victory of a racially appropriate culture. From this perspective, world history appears to us as an enduring struggle, ... as an expression of a dynamic battle of different racial souls for dominance on this earth. That our view is correct is proven to us precisely by the currently particularly sharp confrontation throughout the entire world with a worldview that is poised to destroy the best primal forces of Nordic blood altogether and thus extinguish the life force of the soul of the leading race on this earth...

German National Socialism is founded on blood and soil, honor and labor, and consciously opposes every form of life that does not find its roots in races and peoples... Now begins the struggle for a cohesive lifestyle of the nation.”

Anyone who examines the scientific basis in the numerous works of modern race researchers will unfortunately have to conclude that often only probabilistic arguments are employed, as science has not yet spoken the final word. No one has thus far provided a precise and indisputable clarification of the concept and content of the word “race,” which underlies all conclusions, nor a clear interpretation of the concept of “race” in general.

The problems are far more complex than is assumed today. Racial questions are too difficult to be dismissed with slogans. Instead, far greater caution and care in handling these matters are advisable ¹¹⁷.

Perhaps with no other doctrine of National Socialism can one so clearly observe how healthy, or at least debatable, claims lead to the strangest conclusions through exaggeration. The doctrine that only the Nordic-Aryan race is unconditionally superior and solely constructive prompts not a few National Socialist party members (Müller) to condemn the Christianization of Black and Yellow races not only as an alien cultural intrusion into their racial values but as a harmful and useless endeavor. Why bother, if only the Nordic human possesses culture-forming abilities that entitle them to rule, introducing races whose destiny is merely to serve and obey into a Christian cultural world?

The first consequence of the race doctrine, when consistently pursued and taken to its radical extreme, is the danger of the Nordic human’s self-exaltation over other peoples ¹¹⁸, even though Germany is estimated to be only eight percent Nordic-racial, and German culture is far more a synthesis of Nordic and Eastern elements. Researchers like Martin, Fischer, and Pittard indeed reject providing evidence for the superiority of the Nordic race, although Eugen Fischer, on the other hand, declared: “This

¹¹⁷ A particular embarrassment for advanced German science is especially the abstruse assertions by Wilhelm Stapel in his book *An Ideology of National Socialism*.

¹¹⁸ Cf. the works of the Society for Germanic Prehistory and Early History (Nordic World journal).

Nordic blood, however, is involved wherever particularly significant cultures have arisen in Europe.” (Karlsruhe, February 17, 1934, in the state association “Baden Homeland.”) Even though it is repeatedly stated that this dogma of blood and race is not intended to degrade other peoples in their value, the entire vast literature clearly shows that only Greeks, Germans, and, to a lesser extent, the Nordic race are presented as the true culture-bearers. The further consequence, when everything—history, culture, and religion—is derived solely from race, is that Christianity must inevitably be rejected as alien ¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁹ Noteworthy are the words of Alfred Rosenberg in his lecture *The Struggle for the Worldview*, Berlin, Großoper, February 24, 1934: “This racial science is, in its depth, nothing other than a far-reaching attempt at German self-reflection. When it was claimed in recent years that racial science is anti-Christian, we can today note with satisfaction that the swastika banner has been lowered by both Catholic and Protestant churches, that with this the external recognition has been completed, and the churches are ready to grant this new science its right. But if, after this concession, it is again claimed that racial research must not turn against Christianity, we must say that it has not done so in itself, but otherwise, a natural science cannot make its actions dependent on whether its results contradict one or another worldview, but rather on whether its premises prove to be false or correct. There is no science without premises, but only science with premises, and therefore it depends on whether these premises, born from the spirit of ingenious people, prove true in the course of research or not.”

The same thoughts are found in the director of the Munich University Institute for Racial Hygiene, Lothar Gottlieb Tiralá, *Race, Spirit, and Soul*, J. G. Lehmann Publishing House, Munich 1934 (especially the final section: *Race and Worldview*).

Very similarly, Bauer spoke at the large Berlin meeting of the German Faith Movement (October 1, 1934): “Race and faith are most intimately connected and absolutely inseparable. The opposite view is combated by the German Faith Movement as destructive in both a religious and biological sense. For with it,

Thus, the German religion ¹²⁰, with its cult of the Nordic and its spiritual connection to Germanic mythology, becomes the necessary consequence of the race dogma and the overvaluation of biological-racial ideas. However differently its individual representatives are religiously inclined—from the shimmering pantheism of the Tübingen university professor Bauer (cf. his book *German God-View*, Stuttgart, 1934) ¹²¹ to the radical distortion of religiosity in the writings of the Tannenberg League—and however much this misuse is rejected by serious representatives of National Socialism as entirely contrary to the program, at their core, they rest on the race doctrine. One may reject or endorse the German religion as undesirable, but it is a legitimate child as long as the race concept is not restrained from encroaching into the religious-cultural sphere.

The third consequence of the race idea is a worldview that can be described as a pseudo-religious, anthropological materialism, race monism,

the reality of blood as a creative force, which is simultaneously our destiny, is belittled or even dismissed as insignificant or obstructive to religious life.”

¹²⁰ Beoentlow, *Where is God?*, a religio-philosophical work, Tieckwart Publishing House, 1934; the writings of Bergmann; the worst form is represented by the anti-Semitic writer Arthur Dinter in his journal *Religious Revolution*, who was rightly expelled from the NSDAP due to his anti-Christian stance. Cf. *Church and People* in the special issue of *Hochkirche*, Munich 1934, pp. 222 ff. Only Sauer and Beoentlow are to be taken seriously; the rest is mostly journalistic opportunism or belongs to the realm of pathology.

¹²¹ “National Socialism can and will not identify with the endeavors of the German Church. It is the expression of a new spiritual attitude and worldview of the German person, whereas the German Church is an association that has set itself the goal of the religious renewal of the evangelical church and its conscious nationalization.”

R. S. Zurba, *National Socialism and German Church*, *National Socialist Monthly*, 1933, Issue 17, pp. 374–378.

or an immanent religion (a philosophy of fate and determinism, rejection of free will). If the divine is immanent in blood and race, then revelation would merely be the resonance of the national blood flow, a self-conversation, a completely naturalistic concept of revelation, but not in the sense of the Bible. It would be worthwhile to compile a lexicon of this racial conceptual world to better recognize its internal contradictions with the world of religion and the humanities.

The fourth consequence is the rejection of the Jewish people and their history, including within the Old Testament religion, as well as a consideration of nation and family solely from racial-hygienic perspectives¹²² (education on proper partner choice, sterilization of the inferior).

From a religious-historical perspective, the radicalization of the race doctrine, and particularly its transformation into a worldview¹²³, creates manifold difficulties, however simple the issue may seem at first glance. The human is elevated above their relationship to God. They are no longer God-oriented but focused on the blood and racial unity of their people. This initiates a tremendous moral upheaval, carried forward by those restless national masses that embody the movement of de-Christianization, though it remains questionable whether they were ever truly Christianized. Religion demands an inner, moral transformation of the human, a purification of the natural human, a spiritual-soul process that is not bound to anything naturally given, such as blood and race. For this reason, the teachings of the world religions have always been described, in harmony with those of Socrates, Plato, and Dante, as idealism. Through moral purification and the grace of God, the human, entangled in guilt and sin through the turmoil of the world's machinery, attains redemption—liberation from spiritual distress and torment—purification

¹²² Hans Günther, *People and State in Their Relation to Heredity and Selection*. A lecture. 2nd edition, Lehmann Publishing House, Munich.

¹²³ J. Jonschan, *Le rôle du facteur racial dans les questions fondamentales de la morphologie culturelle*, Paris, éditeur Rousseau, 1934.

and atonement, elevation, and a higher self. If certain modern currents, drawing on Germanic tradition and native feeling, overlook these facts of the soul's life and hold the view that blood and racial consciousness alone suffice to feel religious and be a moral person, this is insufficient. The Catholic Church does not condemn race research, but it must see in its radicalization a regression into naturalism, which the emergence of the supernatural world religion was meant to overcome. For mindset and behavior are moral values whose presence, even with good racial disposition, cannot be assumed without further ado. The notion that noble mindset is conditioned by noble blood is as much a prejudice as the idea that racial mixing and mixed blood inevitably produce ignoble character traits.

The Church has not yet taken a dogmatic stance on the race question. Before the face of God, that is, in the realm of the supernatural, all races and peoples are of equal value, equally entitled, and equally obligated when it comes to the ultimate goal of life. This does not, of course, claim that all races are of equal value in their natural, intellectual, moral, and physiological dispositions. Racial protection, insofar as it concerns preventing mixing for the purpose of procreation, can therefore be regarded as a defense for a people in certain life circumstances. The Catholic Church, too, thought radically and consistently in its Jewish legislation, until in the 19th century the ghetto walls were first dismantled by the liberal state, not by the Church. However, as is evident from the entire supernatural nature of Christianity, the Church's Jewish laws were primarily driven by religious, not national-racial, considerations.

The entire problematic of the race question becomes particularly evident when we examine the concept of racial and cultural formation. Here lie many unresolved issues. Science is not clear on whether high cultures are precisely the result of racial mixing, while racial purity leads to intellectual stagnation. The race problem must therefore never be explained and understood purely biologically if materialism is not to become its consequent phenomenon, as is already taught in many writings of Gobineau's disciples. This leads not only to the rejection of Christianity,

which seeks to guide every race into a higher life conception and culture, but to the denial of the soul, which is the actual life principle, the *forma corporis*. The self-absorption of races and peoples would, through the exaggeration of this crucial question, unleash incalculable vitalities and future plans without spiritual restraint. The further consequence, however, would be a crisis of Christianity in Europe and beyond.

On the other hand, the modern race question also poses significant new challenges for Christianity. No one can deny that since the French Revolution, with its principles of national and human rights, a mixing of peoples and races has emerged in Europe, in which the awareness of nationality, race, and their high cultural values has often lost all significance.

Christian missionary work also made mistakes when it regarded Christianity and European culture as two inseparably linked concepts and believed that foreign nations and races must be brought European culture alongside Christianity without regard for their native nationality. The Europeanization of other races was the greatest harm to Christianity and the entire missionary endeavor. Christianity is initially indifferent to any culture. It forms, refines foreign elements, and creates, once this groundwork is done, a culture corresponding to the respective race and people, carried by religious spirit, in which all elements are present and continue to live.

The race question and Christianity need not be opposites. Only where radicalisms begin do struggles, oppositions, and difficulties arise automatically, because Christianity is essentially harmonization, balance, and synthesis of nature and supernature.

To achieve clarity in this extremely difficult question, the following propositions may suffice for orientation from a Christian standpoint ¹²⁴:

¹²⁴ W. Schmidt, *The Position of Religion to Race and People*, Haas & Grabherr Publishing House, Augsburg 1932, and *Race and People*, Bosel & Puffet Publishing House, 1939; Hermann Muckermann, *Outline of Racial Theory*, Schöningh Publishing House, Paderborn 1933; Albert Mitterer, *Race and Humanity According to Thomas Aquinas*, in *Schönere Zukunft*, 1936, Nos. 4-6;

1. The reality of the race concept cannot be denied, nor can it be ignored in light of the indisputable fact that today all living races blend into one another, and sharp boundaries between individual human types are often difficult to establish. Race is more than a mere conceptual abstraction. It is a tangible reality that the biological form groups of humanity, the races, are characterized not by one or more traits but by a typical overall habitus. This also implies, within certain limits, the potential heritability of intellectual dispositions, though scientific results so far have not provided full clarity. The few researchers who have approached this independently of preconceived principles have not yet been able to determine with unequivocal certainty how human character traits behave in inheritance.¹²⁵ In the realm of the soul, it will always be difficult to distinguish to what extent a particular trait, through which a person distinguishes themselves positively or negatively from others, is primarily hereditary or environmentally conditioned, and how heredity and environment inseparably intertwine in it.

Nobody denies a certain inheritance of intellectual dispositions, although race is initially only a type of functional and morphological heritable traits, thus a purely biological fact. A solid race science, a prudent race cultivation, and therefore racial protection within certain limits is something entirely desirable and necessary. However, race research must never become a playground for dilettantism. It would be regrettable if we Germans, through race science, which can provide valuable insights and observations of natural processes, were to build ourselves a cultural, intellectual, and religious Germanic ghetto. Let us therefore beware of

Walter Berger, *What is Race?*, Stur Publishing House, Vienna 1939. Published by the Philipp-Stiftung Memorial Society.

¹²⁵ A clearly confessional character has the following collective work, whose appearance can in itself be welcomed: Johannes Schottky, *Personality in the Light of Heredity Theory*. In collaboration with H. Burger-Prinz, P. Graf, E. Hester, G. Klooa, H. Pansch, J. Stumpfl, G. B. Teubner Publishing House, Leipzig and Berlin, 1939.

seeing in the race question the key to all world history. Race is not everything and does not explain everything. In this rejection, I find myself in good company, for one of the intellectual pioneers of National Socialism, Möller van den Bruck, perhaps first recognized the weaknesses of radicalism in this young science with genius.

2. Race is, on the value scale of human goods, a good, but not the highest. Race science still lacks a proper conceptual clarification. When it is said that race is destiny, soul, in a word, everything, nothing is explained, but confusion is significantly increased. According to the Christian worldview, the natural moral value scale is: God, soul, family, race, nation, state, humanity. Even conscious selection for the purification of races can never alone effect a morally or culturally high level of peoples, for racial mixing, despite the differing values of races, is not harmful under all circumstances. The German imperial dynasties, the Saxons and the Hohenstaufen, who are counted among the exemplars of German virtue, did not fear foreign blood in their lineage. Marriages with Eastern princely houses were not uncommon. They believed their blood strong enough to absorb the foreign drop. They were more concerned with inbreeding. The chain of ingenious rulers they produced proved them right.

The racial decline of the Germans does not stem from Christianity, unless we designate the Christian German culture of the Middle Ages as an aberration and erase a millennium of German-Christian history with countless great, leading Germanic personalities. Racial decline begins much later and was not least brought about by the mobilization of human masses into large-scale economic enterprises and their concentration in large cities, by the detachment of healthy peasant offspring from the soil, in a word, not least by industrialization, thus not at all from the worldview. Many peasant families in our Alpine regions, who have lived on their ancestral farms for centuries with eight to twelve children, who are Christian and nationally minded, by no means give the impression that they have been racially degenerated by their worldview. They demonstrate, through their large offspring, that they are racially far healthier than many representatives of

this race science, who often barely have two children, though they can write eloquently about the importance of race for our German people.

3. Human intellectual life is only secondarily conditioned by blood and body, and the question is not clearly resolved to what extent inherited physical dispositions can influence intellectual life in the sense of a specific racial habitus. We lack a professional and qualitative statistic within families, nations, and races. The intellectual element in the human is not an emanation of the physical, for the laws of inheritance, established by the Sudeten German Catholic priest Johann Gregor Mendel of Brünn for plants, cannot be directly applied to intellectual life ¹²⁶. Culture is also

¹²⁶ The well-known racial researcher Lothar Gottlieb Tirla, Munich (*Is the Decline of Cultural Peoples a Biological Necessity?*), who takes a contradictory stance, states:

“We are far from disregarding the intellectual qualities of the spirit and replacing them with purely physical ones. But racial hygiene need not propose hypotheses about the connection between body and spirit. It leaves that calmly to natural philosophy. The accusation of racial materialism, which has been made against racial hygienists from many sides, especially by pseudo-philosophers and scholastics, must be resolutely rejected.”

Yet the same researcher in the *National Socialist Monthly*, 1934, pp. 943–950, *Race and Worldview*:

“The finest and most delicate creation of a race, simultaneously the crowning and perfection of its spiritual strength, is its worldview. We believe that our worldview, too, is a vital expression of the Germanic racial soul... Hence, we can conclude that the predispositions of the spirit are the causes why, among these peoples, the same worldview repeatedly comes to light. In this law lies a deeper meaning. Thus, our people have returned to the true sources of their essence, their racial predispositions, after being led astray for decades or perhaps centuries by foreign-racial people to renounce their own racially appropriate worldview. It vainly attempted at every possible point to not only adopt foreign-racial worldviews and pacifist teachings but to live by them. The

something metaphysical and not merely tied to hereditary values. Denying the fact that the spirit can also condition race and blood means a monistic explanation of the spiritual as a mere function of the body, ultimately reducing “the human” to a generally abstract concept that corresponds to nothing in reality.

4. Races are not static, given since primordial times, but, like all life, in constant change, in tension between differences and equalization, in other words, the purely biological explanation of the German race doctrine is insufficient if the undeniably significant role of the spiritual as a driving factor is not also considered. The uncertainty of the race idea in physical terms makes it, according to current scientific research, extremely dangerous, even if one were to set aside the foundations of a Christian philosophy, to build an entire state policy or a formal worldview primarily upon it.

5. The race doctrine makes an inner-worldly subjective moment the criterion of our stance toward religion ¹²⁷, while Christianity, as divine revelation, is not measured by any inner-worldly standard. In the latter respect, it leads to a reinterpretation of religion, culture, and spirit in the sense of biology, whereas Christianity, based on its teaching of the unified origin of the human race, sees in every human, regardless of race, the immortal soul and the image of God, redeemed by Christ’s blood. The human, judged Christianly, is a spiritual personality, not merely a function of racial or national vitality. Thus, the race doctrine, once it is extended from medicine and biology into the realm of culture, must lead to the denial of a fundamental premise of Christianity. In the face of the actual dependence of the human on their natural dispositions, it must be emphasized—if one does not ultimately wish to question the freedom of

turning away from this non-rationally appropriate worldview is both a task and a destiny.”

¹²⁷ On the mutability of important racial elements, cf. the research results of the leading authorities: Professor Schmidt, Hamburg, and Professor Fischer, Berlin.

action—that the freedom of will or choice, the influence of the nurturing forces of the environment, the extraordinary forces of God’s grace, and the regenerative effects of a religious life in the Church can, even if only in rare cases with morally heroic personalities, completely eliminate natural racial dispositions, or at least mitigate, weaken, and refine them.

Even radical race researchers speak of spirit and soul, but these concepts do not align with those of Christian philosophy: whoever exaggerates the race idea must, with inexorable necessity, come to the rejection of Christianity. They may wish to retain components of Christianity for utilitarian or aesthetic reasons. For the farmer, if he is an honest German man and researcher, it is impossible to reconcile a Christian worldview with a radical race doctrine and avoid its conclusions.

We must, in the interest of race science, this young discipline that cannot yet draw on long observation, have the courage to counter the conceptual confusion of our time and restore to words and concepts their originally intended meaning, for our present demands from educated and spiritually responsible people far more intellectual effort than the Church ever required in the two millennia of its history. How fiercely the liberal human of the 19th century resisted the acceptance of immutable dogmas! How many new dogmas, not based on two millennia of spiritual culture, must be unquestioningly believed today! Where is the home of science today?

The greatest problematic lying in all modern race research, as soon as its principles are extended from biology to the realm of spiritual culture, can only be resolved through serious individual research, never through arbitrary dictates. In no other field, therefore, are the objectivity of thought, the shedding of light on fantasies and dilettantism that have nothing to do with true science, the clarity of concepts, a solid philosophical education, and a Christian worldview so necessary as in that of race science, if it is not to become the plaything of contemporary currents and, with this race doctrine, which contains valuable ideas, undermine Christianity and thus the last moral anchor in the hearts of Europe’s nations.

The dangers of the race doctrine thus begin only where its principles and claims cross boundaries and seek to encroach into the realm of philosophy. In their exaggeration, they are a new incursion of materialism into our German spiritual culture.

3.4. The Jewish Question — Antisemitism ¹²⁸

The iron consistency with which National Socialist literature addresses this difficult question, without regard for the consequences in global-historical and foreign-policy terms, can only be explained by the fact that the National Socialist stance on the Jewish problem is a necessary consequence of the race doctrine, viewed from the perspective of national self-defense. The Jewish question appears as a racial phenomenon. All laws are, from this perspective, however harsh they may sound, nothing other

¹²⁸ On the literature, cf. Theodor Fritsch, *Handbook of the Jewish Question*, 38th edition, Hammer Publishing House, Leipzig 1938; A. Prell, *Judaism, the Historical Antithesis to Christianity*, Styria, Graz 1933. The sociologist Prell provides in this expanded special edition from a larger planned book *Oeconomia perennis* a noteworthy stance on the Jewish question based on intellectual-religious and racial perspectives.

Irene Harand, *His Struggle. Response to Hitler*, Verlag der Gerechtigkeit, Vienna 1935. — Since National Socialism came to power in Germany, the author has fought against racial theory and anti-Semitism in a weekly publication issued under her name, in collaboration with Jews, Jewish contributors, and sympathizers from the same circle, to which Dr. Moritz Zalman also belongs. The author displays enthusiasm for Judaism. The recognition of Jewish abilities and inclinations is so emphasized that it outright provokes contradiction, and the book as a whole must be rejected as one-sided and thus cannot be taken seriously.

Emmerich Czermak (Father Karl Litsch), *Order in the Jewish Question*, Reinhold Publishing House, Vienna 1933.

J. A. Höfler, *The Catholic Church and Judaism*, Party Publishing House Eher, Munich 1932 (directed against the “Judaized” Zionism).

G. Graf Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Anti-Semitism*, Paneuropa Publishing House, Vienna 1929.

than an uncompromising implementation of the dogma of race ¹²⁹. The history of antisemitism, or rather the attempts to resolve the Jewish question, dates back to the mid-19th century in Germany and Austria. Remarkably, the first scientific founders of antisemitism were Jews ¹³⁰.

The rapid incursion of Judaism, which took the form of a kind of second migration of peoples from the East to Europe, and the strengthening of national consciousness in those states that particularly suffered under this incursion, were the primary catalysts for this movement, which received a certain scientific foundation from various writers. ¹³¹ Soon, two

¹²⁹ Hans Günther, *Racial Science of the Jewish People*, Lehmann Publishing House, Munich. Some contents: Individual racial characteristics. Blond and light-eyed among Jews. Racial composition of individual larger Jewish groups. Movements and gestures. The nasal quality. Criminal peculiarity. Health predispositions and disease tendencies. Jewish-non-Jewish mixtures. Effects of Jewish spirit. The root of anti-Semitism.

¹³⁰ Arthur Kreditsch, *German Spirit—or Judaism?*, Antaios Publishing House, Berlin 1923.

¹³¹ Particularly noteworthy, besides Richard Wagner and Förster (Nietzsche's brother-in-law), are Dühring, the Protestant theologian and preacher Adolf Stoecker, Berlin, the literary historian Adolf Bartels, *The Justification of Anti-Semitism*, 1921. Incidentally, similar endeavors are also found in France: Léon Bloy (Catholic polemicist and novelist, *Le salut du monde par les juifs*); Édouard Drumont, *La France juive*, a book that appeared in the 1880s and influenced Léon Daudet and thus the *Action Française*, which, strangely enough, combats Judaism because it is favorable to German interests (!) and political goals.

Nietzsche himself often contradicts himself in his stance toward Jews, as his correspondence with Theodor Fritsch proves, published by Sammler Publishing House, Leipzig 1926:

“I lack that ‘highest ethical standpoint’ of which Lagarde speaks. Believe me: this disgusting gossip of dilettantes about the value of people and races, this

directions emerged. One treated the issue as a pure racial conflict, while the other saw it merely as an intolerable tension between different national identities. In the former case, it quickly became a frontal attack on the Jewish person as such. This was compounded by the fact that, since the Zionist movement, Jews themselves no longer form a unity but a divided people, at least in Central Europe, as one part sought to assimilate into the host nation, while the other pursued the opposite and declared it an ideal. The notion that German Jews fall under the concept of a national unity is, for most, an experience for which they were psychologically unprepared. They themselves do not view themselves as a national unity, are manifold and deeply divided, even though their opponents believe they are dealing with a “secret alliance” sworn to life and death. The reality is different and is evident precisely in the reaction to National Socialism, which was and is anything but unified. Speaking simply of “the Jews” without specifying remains superficial. The Sephardic Jew of Spanish-Dutch origin does not wish to be confused with the Ashkenazi from the East; the long-established Western Jew has more reservations about the newly immigrated Eastern Jew than an Aryan; the Orthodox Jew does not understand the baptized Jew, the bourgeois Jew does not understand the social revolutionary, and the latter does not understand the nationally minded Jewish front-line fighter: the ideological and partisan divisions of the German people affect the Jews

submission to ‘authorities’ that are rejected with cold contempt by every more sensible spirit (e.g., E. Dühring, R. Wagner, Ebrard, Wahrmund, P. de Lagarde—who among them is the most unjust, the most unfair in matters of morality and history?—), the constant absurd falsifications and manipulations of the vague concepts ‘Germanic,’ ‘Semitic,’ ‘Aryan,’ ‘Christian,’ ‘German’—all this could, in the long run, seriously anger me and bring me out of the ironic benevolence with which I have hitherto regarded the virtuous vagrants and Pharisees.”

Also, according to Zarathustra, the Old Testament contains no religion but rather contracts concluded with the “tribal god” to settle among the host peoples!

in precise correspondence. Zionism, as a Jewish-national ideal, may have gained some momentum through the shock of the German upheaval; for the majority, it remains a utopia, and the two-thousand-year historical vacuum of national history is a more compelling reality. It is, in a far more radical sense than for the Germans, a “people without space.” Neither from below (blood and soil ideology) nor from above (spiritual-religious reflection and revival) can a self-conscious Jewish unity be achieved. Here, too, due to the frequent and centuries-long mixing with German blood, one encounters questions of immense complexity. With this uncertainty, the entire issue has, since the 1890s, become a slogan for many political parties in Germany and Austria.

Antisemitism is therefore, to some extent, an East German borderland problem transposed onto the Reich, arising in the space where Germandom had to assert itself against Slavs, Magyars, and Romanians, and was first politically represented on a larger scale by a significant figure, the Viennese mayor Karl Lueger, who, however, fought for a spiritual-religious, not a biological, stance and, as a Christian Socialist, declared himself against “assimilation through baptism.” The shift to the race question has changed the situation. Race biology does not inquire about the attitude of the individual Jew toward the state and host nation but about blood as the mystical source of attitude. Only through this has the entire Jewish problem become a popular issue in party circles and, in Rosenberg’s *The Myth of the 20th Century*, a grand theme of German destiny. From the “self-awareness of the German racial soul,” described as heroic, aristocratic, state-building, creative, and benevolent, a sharp national front against Judaism is to emerge, which is characterized as unheroic, selfish, faithless, destructive, and, in a single word, “degenerate.” Although objective research is still mired in a forest of unresolved questions, characteristics are already being assigned according to an a priori schema, though no one would deny certain psychological racial peculiarities and predispositions. A highly complex problem is supposed to find an apparently simple solution in National Socialism. Thus, the Jewish problem is transformed into a moral one; a race, as such, is endowed with moral flaws as constitutive traits.

The National Socialist stance toward Judaism was prepared by artists, politicians, race researchers, religious historians, philosophers, and liberal theology professors. In particular, Friedrich Seitz and Fritsch, whose Handbook of Judaism has become the dogmatic standard for National Socialism, sought to prove, from an intuitive understanding, that the God (Yahweh) of the Old Testament cannot be equated with the God of the New Testament, and therefore the Christian religion cannot be that of the Germans, due to alleged moral views in the Old Testament that are deemed unacceptable from a Germanic perspective. Furthermore, the value of the Old Testament is diminished, moral failings of individual figures, which the Bible merely reports but does not endorse, are explained as expressions of Jewish decadence, while all truly great ideas are traced back to Persians and Sumerians (world creation, God as creator, world savior).

However, the antisemitic movement within the German people cannot be fairly judged without considering the national geography of Central Europe, where, since the French Revolution established the political equality of all humans and races, an unsettling immigration of Eastern elements took place, which soon dominated the entire leading intellectual life among Germans. Even before the National Socialist seizure of power in Germany, this issue was much discussed in the Reich, but it remained a small circle that drew its knowledge more from the antisemitic press of individual parties than from thorough scientific works to reflect on the consequences of this increasingly assertive Jewish immigration throughout the German-speaking area. In Catholic circles, the full scope of this problem for German cultural life as a whole was too little appreciated by leading politicians, although we owe the first warning cries against this

national danger to Catholic writers ¹³², who, unfortunately, were often ignored or fiercely opposed.

As early as the 13th century, Thomas Aquinas, in his work *De regimine Judaeorum*, expressed views on the economic dominance of Jews in a manner that hardly lags behind many modern antisemites. The Jewish laws of various church assemblies and diocesan synods of the Middle Ages also show kinship with modern measures, though their justification was theological, not racial-biological, in origin. However, the leading German and French antisemitic literature since the mid-19th century has increasingly veered into the murky waters of radicalism.

Undoubtedly, we are dealing here with a significant issue for the German people. The rich statistics on the spread of Judaism in intellectual professions since 1890 are staggering when contrasted with the fact that the sons of long-established national families ¹³³, who thus had a birthright, had to remain unemployed for years because foreigners took their daily bread. Especially Marxism, wherever it gained power in Germany and Austria, ruthlessly and unscrupulously used its influence to the advantage of immigrated Judaism, which, in turn, supported the socialist movement with substantial financial resources. The proportion of Jews in hospitals (Vienna, Berlin), in the legal profession, in the free artistic professions, and in the press—not to mention the financial world—was disproportionately high. The consequence had to be a poisoning of the German soul with foreign

¹³² Sebastian Brunner († 1893), Josef Scheicher († 1928), August Rohling († 1923), whose main work *The Talmud Jew* saw 18 editions, and Bishop Ottokar Prohaska of Stuhlweißenburg († 1927) with his speech at the German Catholic Day in Frankfurt am Main, 1921; Fr. Offen, *Anti-Semitic Movement and German Political Movement in the Light of Catholicism*, 1928.

¹³³ Cf. the latest work *The Jews in Germany*, edited by the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question, Central Publishing House Eher, Munich 1935 (with statistics), the speech by Reich Minister Goebbels, *Racial Question and World Propaganda*, at the Nuremberg Party Congress on September 2, 1933, and especially R. Wagner, *Foundations of Political Economy*, Berlin 1892/93.

conceptions and doctrines, as it was not always the still-believing, conservatively minded segment of Judaism that pushed into power, but the religiously and morally decayed one. It was only through the French Revolution at the end of the 18th century that Judaism achieved its equality. Since this event, which was repeatedly hailed in liberal circles as the beginning of the new era and the modern constitutional state, the numerous defensive measures and laws of the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages regarding the position of Jews in Christian society were increasingly dismantled under state influence ¹³⁴.

Liberalism considered the existence of a Jewish question incompatible with its ideological principles and thus closed itself off to this unwelcome problem. While the medieval Church took a strict stance on the issue of Jewish converts, this problem, due to state restrictions, could no longer be appreciated and understood to the same extent since the 19th century. With not too great inhibition, many authorities also overlooked the danger of cultural difference, without considering that it is ultimately not only a question of whether the other side is ready for a true Christianity, but whether such mixing, from the standpoint of religion and nationality, is always advisable. Very few German scholars have engaged with the problem of Judaism in German history, partly due to suppression of the issue, partly out of fear of having to take a stand on a delicate matter. Thus, there is also no high-quality history of the Jews in the German-speaking area that corresponds to the national consciousness of the German people. There are many oversights here, as this difficult problem was either not considered in its cultural impact or was to be resolved solely from the perspective of language ¹³⁵. In any case, this dominance of Jews,

¹³⁴ Journal Archive for Catholic Church Law, Year 1933.

¹³⁵ A first attempt is the work by Wilhelm Grau, *Anti-Semitism in the Late Middle Ages*, Gundert Publishing House, 1935. As the Munich historian Karl Alexander von Müller critically notes in his foreword, “almost all preparatory work is still lacking for a serious history of Judaism in Germany.”

which can be statistically proven with ease, in the cultural institutions of the German people could no longer continue; the excessive influx of Jews into secondary and higher schools, the medical and legal professions, was all the less tenable because, to emphasize it once again with determination, young German men wanted to earn their bread, start a family, and put their abilities at the service of the people and state, but had to watch unemployed and suffering while a disproportionate number of these positions were held by Jews. The danger that this unfulfilled waiting would turn into dangerous radicalisms was all too understandable. In film, press, and theater, too, the influence of Jews was overwhelming in proportion to their population size and often truly harmful enough. Since the mid-19th century, many proposed solutions to the Jewish question have been presented to the public; one that found strong approval was to transform the Jewish people into a kind of minority nation ¹³⁶ with the resulting rights and duties in the state ¹³⁷. The further consequence would naturally be that, alongside national affiliation,

Cf. also Preacher Adolf Stoecker and the Christian-Social Movement, Berlin 1928, 2nd edition, Hamburg 1938; G. Liebes's book *Judaism in German History*, Jena 1924, satisfies neither scientific standards nor a German perspective.

¹³⁶ Cf. the writing by the Tübingen theologian Gerhard Kittel, *The Jewish Question*, W. Kohlhammer Publishing House, Stuttgart 1938. Kittel develops, in the sense of the current National Socialist laws, the necessity of separating Germans and Jews due to the conditions resulting from Jewish emancipation and assimilation. Kittel does not consider Zionism a viable solution. Kittel advocates the restoration of the "guest status." Jews should become genuine, pious Jews again. Cultural autonomy for a truly Jewish culture. (Hebrew press. Independent Jewish private school system. No mixtures.)

¹³⁷ Gottfried Feder, *The German State on a National and Social Basis*, pp. 88–89, National Socialist Library. In the National Socialist state, citizenship will entail moral obligations toward the state and the people. Jews will fundamentally be excluded from citizenship.

there would also have to be a state affiliation with specific legal implications.

The well-known writer Wilhelm Stapel, to whom National Socialism owes many impulses, writes on the occasion of the new Reich laws on the preservation of the Aryan race in the journal *Deutsches Volkstum* ¹³⁸, which he edits, that until now there has been a condominium, a coeducatio, a connubium, a commercium between Germans and Jews. In other words: the Jew was simply a German. Now the condominium has been abolished; co-rule in the German authoritarian state has been denied to the Jews. Stapel says: “They will never again make German politics, but only politics against or with Germany.” Thus, no German politics, but politics with Germany, which, in the end, would still be German politics!

Thus, Stapel outlines the current regulation and adds the following consideration: “When we survey the outcome of this realization on the Jewish side, we believe future generations will regard the year 1933 as a year of liberation for the Jewish people; by the failure of assimilation, nationality (along with faith) became powerful.” Christianity—Protestants ¹³⁹ also acknowledge this—knows no racial clause for admission into its faith community, unless an essential foundation of Christian belief is to be shaken. Thus, Jewish baptism and mixed marriages will also be permitted in the future. The ecclesiastical legal code, which came into effect on May 19, 1938, contains no provisions of a Jewish-specific nature and speaks only of unbaptized Catholics, but not of Jews. Thus, the Church will not recognize the racial aspect of Jewish baptism or mixed marriage, without thereby opposing the restriction of Jewish influence in state life, as it is an experiential fact that the assimilation of Jews into a foreign nationality often remains purely superficial. Therefore, no serious objection can be raised against state legislation that, out of necessity and to protect against

¹³⁸ Hanseatic Publishing House, Hamburg, January issue 1938.

¹³⁹ Fabricius Caius, *The Jewish Question in the Evangelical Church*, Publishing Company for Press Service, Berlin 1934.

an influx of foreign elements, safeguards its own nationality and, for state-political and national reasons, issues certain restrictive regulations for members of the Jewish people, even if such laws do not align with the modern constitutional state ¹⁴⁰, for the principles of the modern state, created only through the French Revolution, are not the best from the standpoint of Christianity and nationality. Least of all, however, do those non-Aryans who are materialistically inclined and deny the spirituality of the human with an immortal soul have a right to object to this Reich legislation. Such Jews will have to come to terms with being judged solely on racial-biological grounds and no longer being equal in value and rights within our German people, for only the recognition of a soul and belief in a supernatural can protect against exaggerations.

The error of many leading National Socialist writers on this doubly delicate question, where Judaism represents an economic and intellectual world power, lies more in another area, namely in that radicalization which ultimately attributes all dark sides of national history to Judaism ¹⁴¹ and, in its conclusions, leads to a disregard of the Old Testament, as well as to a reinterpretation of the personality of Christ, which, due to its non-Aryan origin, is hardly acceptable for the radically inclined antisemitism. Historically, the exaggeration of the Jewish question has almost always ended with the dissolution of Christianity (Marcion), and it is noteworthy

¹⁴⁰ G. Sunblad, Excluded Are Exclusion Laws Against Jewish Citizens as Jews, Particularly from the Perspective of the Modern State, in M. Buchberger, Lexicon for Theology and Church, I, p. 808.

¹⁴¹ This direction also includes writings such as: World Freemasonry, World Revolution, World Republic. An Investigation into the Origin and Ultimate Goals of the World War. By Dr. Fr. Wichtl. 9th edition, 50th to 64th thousand. Edited by E. Berg.

that all radical proponents of antisemitism particularly reject Catholicism

¹⁴².

In this question, too, it can be said that in the approach of individual representatives of National Socialism toward the Old Testament, the great liquidation process of liberal Protestant theology and biblical exegesis, represented by the names Wellhausen and Gressmann, is completed, and it is particularly remarkable that these destructive ideas, long rejected by serious Protestant scholarship, are now finding their way into the people, becoming unwelcome ideological side effects of political movements.

It further becomes clear that racial antisemitism, with its attack, aims not only at Judaism but also at Christianity, which is rejected as an “alien,” “Oriental” religion, and whose “compassionate morality” and “ideal of humility” are deemed incompatible with the spirit of an aristocratic ruling people. On this level, two claims to chosenness clash hostilely: the Jewish, divinely revealed claim of the people chosen by grace, and the German, self-proclaimed claim arising from the national or racial consciousness of the purity and nobility of their own essence, in which an

¹⁴² Rosenberg, *Crimes of Freemasonry*, p. 180, writes: “Here, at the passage about the God of the Old Testament, lies the pivotal point of shaping our future. Whether our spirit, capable of salvation, will rise. Whether Christianity has overcome its childhood diseases, or whether the efforts of our great ones, who showed us the direction for our feeling and thinking, were in vain, that will soon have to be decided.”

Characteristic are the statements of the Alliance of Racial Europeans (Alliance Raciste Européenne), whose members pledged to the following:

“What we have achieved in Germany, to preserve it against the everywhere emerging countercurrents (Catholic movement, the Church’s intrusion into the realm of freedom of conscience, disguised Freemasonry, newly awakened Jewish audacity, class and professional associations, intellectual revival attempts of overcome ‘party ideals’).”

earthly rank determination is expressed. Thus, the previously cited Wilhelm Stapel writes in his book *The Christian Statesman* (1932): "If only two Germans lived in all of Poland, they would be more than the millions of Poles; for they are, after all, Germans." The German and Jewish consciousness of mission meet in the depths.

The problem is clearly elucidated in the official statement in the *Kirchlicher Anzeiger für die Erzdiözese Köln*, where, in a supplementary special study on Rosenberg's *The Myth of the 20th Century*, the following can be read: "There are indeed specifically Jewish views that Jesus and Paul opposed with equal determination. These views have their roots in the idea of the superiority of the Jewish race over all other peoples. This idea does not stem from the Old Testament, in which Israel possesses only a superiority of grace, not of race. However, later Judaism—and this is its world-historical guilt and the ultimate cause of its downfall—reinterpreted the privilege of grace proclaimed in the Old Testament into a natural superiority of its race. Cause and effect were reversed; no longer—as in the Old Testament—does Israel's privilege rest on God's grace, but God's grace rests on Israel because it is the noblest of all peoples.... This is that truly Jewish doctrine against which John the Baptist, though himself a Jew, protested, as also recorded by the Jew Matthew (3:9); against which Jesus waged an unrelenting struggle; ... and over which, when it also threatened the young Church of Christ, no one achieved a decisive victory other than Paul."

From this emerges a significant stance against the attempt to understand and resolve the Jewish question solely from the perspective of race. Christianity is the overcoming of the race deification first articulated and dogmatized in the late phase of Israelite history, which, in contrast to scientific race research, is thus not a modern creation; therefore, in the advanced age of European national history, where Christianity loses its binding force, the possibility of race deification reemerges. This Jewish-German historical parallel spanning two millennia is profoundly noteworthy. It is reinforced by the fact that even today, in genuine German Christianity, the Jewish problem does not gain such sharpness.

However, before such a complex problem as the Jewish question can be resolved from a racial perspective, which is still scientifically contested, the question must first be unequivocally clarified: since when has Judaism, in the history of other peoples, acted as a destructive force? For such a broadly framed accusation, as some propose, appears unfounded, even if individual writers claim to find it in the official justification for the Reich-German racial protection legislation of 1935. Assertions alone cannot justify radicalism, even if Judaism, through its significant involvement in the Marxist and especially the Bolshevik movement, has in many ways itself contributed to the current Reich-German legislation. Therefore, the legal framework ¹⁴³, based on Rosenberg ¹⁴⁴, Stapel, and Fritsch, even if some restrictions have already been introduced, still retains a certain harshness when one seeks to address the issue of Jewish emancipation, the question of mixed-race individuals, and Jewish front-line fighters from the racial principle in a manner that appears just to all parties.

As Christians and Catholics, we have no reason whatsoever to defend that Judaism which, after the World War, seized leadership of the working masses in the spirit of Marxism and grossly misused it for selfish purposes; yet precisely because we condemn every injustice, we guard against a generalization that would hold Judaism alone responsible for social and political grievances throughout history.

¹⁴³ Cf. regarding the September Law of 1935, "Protection of German Blood and German Honor," the treatise by Court Assessor Wohrmann, Munich, in the *Juristische Wochenschrift*, September 1936, "The Problem of Dissolving Mixed Marriages Between Aryans and Jews."

¹⁴⁴ Reference may be made here to some passages from Alfred Rosenberg's *Myth of the 20th Century*. He states: "Marriages between Germans and Jews are to be prohibited. Sexual intercourse between Germans and Jews is to be punished, depending on the severity of the case, with confiscation of property, expulsion, imprisonment, and death. If a German woman voluntarily engages with Negroes or Jews, she is in no case entitled to legal protection, nor are her illegitimate children, who are not granted the rights of German citizenship from the outset."

It is true, however, that especially in the post-war period, a significant portion of the Jewish intelligentsia, driven by harmful ambition, aligned itself with left-wing parties and assumed leading positions within their ranks, particularly in Austria, Germany, and Hungary (and Russia)¹⁴⁵—a situation where the entire middle and lower party apparatus is Judaized, which we will not address here—and that industrial crimes of a dangerous nature were introduced into the entire political life of the German people by this religiously decayed Judaism¹⁴⁶. This undoubtedly occurred without and against the will of the vast majority of those Jews who are oriented in a conservative and state-preserving sense.

This majority deeply lamented the political and social aberrations of their fellow believers, not least because they had to suffer the consequences that the Jewish left-wing extremists brought upon themselves. This large majority, at least of the long-established, respectable Judaism, also never had the ambition to exert undue influence in public life but only wished to engage in peaceful work and diligence in harmony with their Christian fellow citizens. However, one accusation cannot be left unspoken: this better part of Reich-German Judaism failed to draw a clear line of separation between itself and the red agitators and to state clearly that no commonality of views or aspirations exists here. This was neglected—perhaps out of a misunderstood sense of solidarity, perhaps out of concern that such protests would only draw attention to the unwelcome fact. But it was misguided to attempt to diplomatically sidestep a fact that was, after all, known to the entire world, and the only result was that this

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Kat (Racial Policy Foreign Correspondence, No. 4, April 1936); Abraham Teller, *The Situation of Jews in Russia from the March Revolution of 1917 to the Present* (Publications of the Society for the Advancement of the Science of Judaism, No. 39, M. & S. Marcus Publishing House, Breslau 1933).

¹⁴⁶ A notorious representative of this direction was the Jewish socialist Karl Kautsky, whose book *Ethics* was a typical case of this decadence. ("Morality is nothing other than the striving-pleasing-satisfaction of man according to his subjective judgment.")

silence provided the active racial antisemitism with an argument that did not fail to have its effect. Despite all this: it is historically false and morally never justifiable to use the aberrant behavior of a portion of Jewry as evidence for the discrimination of all Jews living among Germans. Many Jews have fully integrated into the foreign nationality and have achieved outstanding accomplishments in German culture. Only insofar as Judaism has lost its religious foundations and is ideologically uprooted has it indeed become destructive to others. In other words, the fate of the Jews among the nations, and thus the Jewish problem in general, cannot, in the final analysis, be explained solely by the fact of a different race or only from the political sphere but necessarily requires a theological orientation to avoid arriving at unjust views in the effort to protect one's own nationality, views that would contradict not only the truth but also basic human compassion. From the perspective of mere physical race, Jews are, incidentally, closer to Germans than, for example, the Finno-Ugric and Altaic peoples (Magyars, Turks), as one of their racial components is the Mediterranean element, which forms the main component of the "Aryan" Mediterranean peoples and is also present in the German people, and another component is the Oriental element, whose main bearers are the "Aryan" Armenians. The problem of the Jewish people as a whole cannot, therefore, be racially categorized in the usual terms, and at its core, it is based not on material but on spiritual factors (not on the physical factor of "blood" but on the spiritual factor of a historical act of will). The Jewish people was scattered and has not found a national consciousness since the downfall of its own statehood.

For understanding Judaism in world history, the downfall of its own statehood in 70 CE is of decisive importance. When we compare the books of the Old Testament that appeared after this event, we already encounter two directions that have since become characteristic of all Judaism: 1) Wisdom literature with a world philosophy that partially aligns with the cosmopolitan cultural ideal of the prevailing Hellenism, although even in these books the religious mission of Judaism is repeatedly emphasized; 2) a national direction, expressed in the Maccabean books, with the struggle for

the true kingdom. Since then, Jews have been a people without a homeland, the perpetual emigrants of world history, whose restlessness within foreign cultural spheres also stems from the loss of this national center. It is a general experiential fact of history that all nations and races in their unrest and problematic nature essentially depend on whether the natural development based on language and race finds a certain satisfaction or not.

3.5. The Problem of Racial Influence in the Development of Western Christianity

The preceding sections have already clearly shown that the momentum of race science poses a danger only when its principles are extended as solely authoritative into the realm of culture and worldview, instead of being limited to medicine, biology, and population policy. In many questions of this young science, the final word has certainly not yet been spoken. If the former occurs, one would indeed have to speak of a crisis of the hitherto Christian culture throughout Europe.

In the following, to deepen the insights already gained, a section will be addressed that, among radical race researchers today, is almost more central than social issues: What role does the race question play in the development of Western Christianity, or, in other words, is Western Christianity merely the result of the Mediterranean-Roman cultural sphere and the races residing within it?

Since the ingenious Augustinian friar Mendel observed the laws of nature scientifically in the solitude of his monastery in Brünn, since Gobineau and Richard Wagner, both not through scientific means but through artistic intuition, made the problem of racial influence on intellectual culture a popular issue, this question has not rested. It is, if one believes the radical proponents, gradually becoming the central problem, which also resonates in various political movements (India, Mexico, and Japan). However, no one has yet exhaustively resolved the question of the ultimate determining components of culture. The purely organic explanation of intellectual life, which Spengler and, long before him, Danilevsky ¹⁴⁷ attempted through the doctrine of culture-historical types or souls, cannot satisfy. It is self-evident that the world Church of Rome, which imposed a certain ethos on the cultures of Christianized peoples, cannot remain untouched by these great conflicts that are inevitably linked to the race problem.

¹⁴⁷ Russia and Europe (1879); translated into German 1920.

A flood of questions assails every modern person today who seeks to examine the intellectual currents that give color and rhythm to our contemporary history above the tangled political landscape of Europe. Is the struggle against Rome, which we find in all centuries and among all peoples in certain epochs of their intellectual development, truly caused by race? Is it, above all, in the relations of Germandom to Rome, a revolt of the German genius and its religiosity against the “alien” form of Christianity and against Romanism, which is supposedly embodied in Catholicism? Can a history of peoples’ culture and intellect even be written from the racial perspective based on the current findings of this young science? Can influences of race be detected in Christian theology at all?—And so many other questions are raised by the turbulent stream of contemporary history. Several preliminary remarks are necessary. The race question is a biological and cultural-intellectual problem. As racial hygiene, this question belongs to the realm of medicine and biology, where morality will always have a say, as it often concerns boundary issues of both fields. However, the question becomes more complex when the problem of race is extended into the cultural sphere and one seeks to examine the modern buzzword of the “racial soul.”

What is a racial soul at all? Does this concept merely encompass certain biological predispositions for character formation, or is the entire attitude of a person toward the questions of life conditioned by blood? In other words: Do the deepest roots of a religious worldview also lie in blood and race?

In the Christian worldview, three elements shape the type of human, their character, and personality: the hereditary stream or hereditary mass, in which race is conditioned, the environment, and the soul as the *forma corporis*. When this view is contrasted with radical race science, one sees that two fundamentally different conceptions speak to us: 1) Biological monism, in which blood plays the decisive role in culture and religion formation and ends in a biologically conceived psycho-physical parallelism, where body and soul represent the inner and outer sides of the same entity; 2) Anthropological dualism, which, since Aristotle in Greek philosophy, has

gained a leading position through the doctrine of matter and form and forms the very foundation of every theistic religion, in whatever dogmatic forms it may approach the human.

If we were to examine this problem, posed to Christianity by race science, more deeply—which, however, exceeds the scope of this book—a series of questions would need to be carefully scrutinized, above all the influence of climate and soil formation on the emergence and development of cultures. To what extent is the soul, and thus intellectual life, also influenced by race? How significant is the differentiation of humans by race, both physically and psychologically, in its origin? So far, no scientific race research has provided an answer that can fully satisfy.

All races and nations contribute to the intellectual overall progress of humanity as soon as they transition from a nomadic state to one of civilization. But are there races that can be designated as inferior and destructive from the outset? Are there, furthermore, culturally autochthonous peoples whose creative drive requires neither models nor borrowings from other cultural spheres?

Since the earliest beginnings of culture among all peoples are lost in the twilight of history and legend, it is difficult to determine in individual cases where the first impulses and borrowings came from, what is racially inherent, and what has already been adopted. Nevertheless, the following assertions, on which the subsequent reflections are built, do not seem too bold: By culture, I understand the harmonious, consistent shaping of life based on a specific worldview. In other words: Culture is something living, narrowly defined; most people do not progress beyond a certain civilization. Cultures are something organic; they build on what came before, live off their treasures and forms, and enrich them. There are not only national cultures but also a human culture in the sense of humanity and, above all, Christianity, in which the highest achievements of all cultural spheres somehow converge. That there are not only physical-biological but also intellectual differences between nations and races, which may also have a certain conditionality in race itself, cannot be denied. Thus, to name just a few examples, the ancient concept of the state among Greeks and Romans

is fundamentally different. *Patria* does not mean the same for both. The foundations of the state concept among the Romans in the era of their world imperialism are organization and legal cohesion, while among the Greeks, at least in the first centuries up to Alexander the Great, it is more the language-bound nationality. The ancient Roman wanted to absorb and standardize all culture; he could not conceive of the concept of national minority rights.

As soon as a people begins to think in world-historical and cultural-imperialist terms, state and national conceptions change entirely on their own, without regard to racial foundations. The history of religion also shows us differences among nations and races. The conception of the divine heaven and its inhabitants is not the same among Oriental peoples, in Hellas, and in Germania. The architecture of temple buildings in the Orient and in Europe also presupposes different predispositions of the peoples. But is it absolutely necessary to seek the cause of these differences solely in race? Would it not be possible that the cause lies in soil formation, in climate, or even in the extraordinarily rich array of possibilities with which the freely creating spirit often shapes life and environment entirely independently? Is there not a spiritual migration with a following? Perhaps today we overestimate the impact of soil, climate, race, and blood, so that the danger of a new materialism in historical explanation looms. Perhaps much is less innate than we claim today. Thus, there are indeed many questions raised by modern race science that, if examined dispassionately, may one day enrich our knowledge to distinguish the true from the false, the subjective from the correct.

In and of itself, it is not necessary for Christianity and race science to come into conflict, as both represent different orders. The oppositions begin, however, where one simply seeks to explain life biologically, without any consideration for spirit and soul. It would be incompatible with Christianity, which enters history as divine revelation to unite all nations and religions in a universal divine and salvific idea, to so exaggerate the race theory that the Christian religion in dogma, cult, and organization appears exclusively as a syncretism of certain races or cultural spheres, caused purely

biologically by blood. This radicalization of the race idea would, in the final analysis, mean a materialization of religion and, via a blood myth, a return to Haeckel's monistic religious philosophy, in which many indeed see the forerunner of these modern endeavors—in other words, it would result in the complete destruction of Christianity.

The great problematic still inherent in the modern race problem, as soon as it is extended from biology and medicine to philosophy and intellectual history, can only be resolved through serious individual research, in which science must also have the necessary freedom, but not through the dictates of authority. It is not worthwhile to refute the claim that only the Nordic race in prehistory carried the spark into the darkness of unexplored regions and thus created all the world's cultures, or that blood mixing lowers the racial level and thus causes the decline of high cultures. Just as in German history numerous outstanding personalities have been mixed-race individuals from two or three European races, so it was in antiquity.

Three cultural spheres intersect at the beginning of the Christian era. The Semitic, which, in thought and language, extends from the Old Testament into the New Testament era; the Greek, in the sense of Hellenism; and the Latin-Roman, since the Romans, through Pompey, incorporated Syria-Palestine and, through Augustus, also Egypt into their world empire. The bearers of the Christian doctrine were thus initially members of three nations, each of which had absorbed different races. Each of these nations, which exhibited not insignificant intellectual differences among themselves, brought specific predispositions and volitional dispositions into Christianity. The Jewish people, which only in post-exilic times, with the 5th century BCE under Ezra, introduced a racial structure, while earlier cultural influences from the Canaanites, Babylonians, Egyptians, and Hittites are traceable, brought a particular metaphysical sense to its religious mission. In no other religious literature of antiquity do we find such a breadth of thought, such anxious concern for the purity of monotheism, and such marvelous depth of the religious as in the Psalms and the Prophets. In no other historical account of antiquity is the purely

human depicted so without idealization and one-sidedness as in the books of the Old Testament. As people are portrayed in the highest passages there, so they are in reality among all peoples. It is the universally human that has such a gripping effect ¹⁴⁸.

When the problem of racial influence within religions, particularly Christianity, is discussed, a warning must be issued against any one-sided stance, which is not uncommon today under the influence of antisemitism toward the history and literature of the Old Testament.

Marcion, the Christian Gnostic of the 2nd century, who found his successor and modern defender in Harnack, also rejected the Old Testament. Similarly, Luther's writings contain remarkable confessions and statements about the Old Testament. However, for these opponents of the Old Testament, the motivations were often purely theological in nature: worldly fanaticisms of the 2nd century against the life-affirming stance of the Old Testament, an overemphasis on the Christian path to salvation, or misguided notions about the "essence of Christianity." In contrast, the aversion of modern race researchers to the Old Testament ultimately stems from a purely biological consideration of history, which leads directly to an incompatibility between the Old Testament religion and "German piety." This attempt to derive all events biologically from unchangeable racial instincts, to degrade spirit and faith to functions of blood, and to brand every racial mixing as inferior leads from Gobineau, Renan, Seitz, and Chamberlain into the antisemitic fantasies of our day, which have found their prophets and dogmatists particularly in Winter and Fritsch. In doing so, it is entirely forgotten that the religious content of the Old Testament was merely a preparation, only to be fulfilled and partially transcended in

¹⁴⁸ Cf. the judgment of Nietzsche: "In the Jewish Old Testament, the book of divine justice, there are people, things, and lives in such a grand style that Greek and Indian scriptures have nothing to compare with it. One stands with awe and reverence before these tremendous remnants of what man once was, and will have sad thoughts about old Asia and its preordained little Europe, which would like to signify the 'progress of mankind' against Asia at all costs."

Christianity, so that its religious and moral value in many respects had to be relative, adapted to specific cultural conditions.

The justifications with which people today, simultaneously with the state-sanctioned antisemitism, seek to reject ancient religious goods on which Christianity built are peculiar. Thus, the Old Testament is reproached for having too little heroic character in its content. However, anyone who denies the heroic spirit of the Old Testament would have to ignore all military accounts from the times of the judges and kings, even though these, in their heroic mindset—admittedly also in the savagery of their tradition—hardly fall short of the deeds of ancient Germanic epics. Incidentally, it is one of the great errors of the present, inherited from Nietzsche, that heroism is not placed in the moral sphere of the human but is repeatedly equated with militaristic imperialism, even though the true heroes of humanity have not always been world conquerors but world overcomers. A severing of the bond between the Old and New Testaments on the grounds of race doctrine would mean the end for both, as their connection is not only historical but organic. A gospel “purified” of all “Jewishness” remains a utopia and would no longer be a gospel ¹⁴⁹.

We therefore find in the Christianization process of the ancient Germans not the slightest contradiction to the content of the Old Testament, no instinctive recoil, no blood-based rejection of the “alien” or “foreign-racial” material. On the contrary, there is a lively engagement and interest in the narratives of the Old Testament, because they contained something that the ancient Germanic religion lacked: faith in one and the same deity for all peoples. The Old Testament religious literature shows at various points a universal conception of the idea of God, which has nothing to do with a narrowing of the natural forces of primitive peoples or a mere

¹⁴⁹ A series of excellent apologetic writings by Sellin, Volz, Hempel are already available. Attention is drawn here to a brochure whose author, an Old Testament scholar at the University of Marburg, is close to National Socialism: H. W. Herzberg, *The German and the Old Testament. Contribution to Questions of Germanness and the Bible*, Hopelmann Publishing House, Gießen 1934.

tribal deity like Yahweh, but rather presses toward the development and refinement of the idea of God in Christianity.

The Greek nation was chosen in early times to contribute, from its genius particularly suited for speculation, to the deepening of the dogma of Christ's personhood and that of the Holy Spirit. The third cultural sphere is formed by the Romans: Providence had destined the Roman genius for the great mission of using its predispositions for the organizational construction of the Church. The Roman brought, from his national and racial disposition, into the history of Christianity a sense for form and clear ordering of thoughts and concepts, for organization and conquest, for sober realism and objective attitude. Perhaps there is a symbol for assessing the Roman genius within Western intellectual history—the magnificent construction of the ancient Pantheon, whose architecture, as a crowning conclusion, was adopted by Michelangelo in a brilliant worldview for the monumental construction of Western Christianity, St. Peter's Basilica. In no other building are the proportions so purely comprehensible and in an absolutely clear, harmonious closure, built on simple numbers and proportions. An architecture in which everything is balanced, all conflicts resolved, everything flows into one another in the blissful feeling of the harmony of life and the unity of the worldview.

The Germanic influence begins in the history of Western Christianity with the 8th and 9th centuries, and it becomes clear how much the Nordic character needed partial renewal through the contrasts of the Roman cultural sphere to remain a positive element of further development in Christianity. The Germanic human brought, with the tremendous energies of will, a strong tendency to generalize the subjectively experienced and to form a system of thought from it, to overemphasize the religious inner life and the inner authority of the individual conscience against external claims to authority, and to strongly emphasize the dynamic. A drive for activity and a propensity for philosophizing and reforming characterize the Nordic race.

Those who consider these briefly sketched differences among the peoples who most decisively intervened in Christian history will more easily

understand the intellectual conflicts within Christianity. The separation of the Eastern peoples from Rome therefore had entirely different backgrounds than, for example, that of the Nordic-Germanic peoples during the Reformation. Eastern Christianity, to mention just one aspect, adopted a completely different stance toward the state in the first centuries than the Western Church. In the East, Christianity either became entirely an organ of the state and national history or distanced itself from both in all worldly matters, retreating to the purely religious (liturgy, dogma, and monastic life). Thus, the idea of order in Eastern Christianity is focused, so to speak, selfishly on the inner life. Orders like that of the Jesuits and the modern congregations of the Roman Church, in which something of the apostolic era's conquering drive lives on, are unthinkable there, as they seem to contradict the speculative character and religious mentality of the East, which is strongly oriented toward the afterlife and has revealed a militaristic conquering drive only in the religion of Islam. It is as if Christianity in this part of the world exhausted itself in the religious struggles of the first centuries and lost its conquering power. The great theologians of the Eastern Church in the Middle Ages brought no new perspectives to the overall development of Christianity but simply spun out the Christological and eschatological conflicts of the first five centuries. Thus, Christianity in this region also lacked the political strength to withstand the onslaught of Islam. With the fall of Constantinople in the 15th century, it collapsed powerlessly like a house of cards.

When Christianity made its entry into Rome in the age of Claudius, this city was inhabited by a racial mixture. The Rome of that time was the classic ground of a mixed culture. Alongside the Greek-Roman high culture in the educated upper class, there existed an ordinary popular culture in which ideologically strong influences from Egyptians, Etruscans, Phoenicians, and ancient Roman history lived on.

Which elements could be absorbed into Christianity from this racially and ideologically diverse ground, which embarked on its triumphant march into the empire from Rome? For the person who still faithfully affirms Christianity, this question cannot concern the essence of

Christianity. Divine revelation and world religion cannot be bound to any cultural sphere, race, or nation. The question pertains to the cultic-organizational and the external manifestations, the periphery, in a word, the historical in Christianity, in which the objective, eternal, and universally valid truths, which cannot be bound to any nationality or race, come to light, as in a prism where the rays of sunlight are refracted.

What does Catholicism owe to Roman culture? To answer this difficult problem, we must consider an important fact that creates clarity. Rome adopted Christianity in a specific, closed form that was already given by the books of the Old and New Testaments, as the biblical books written in Rome, which completed the canon of sacred scriptures, could no longer alter the religious overall picture in its essential components. No one would claim that, for example, the Gospel of Mark, written in Rome around 68/69, or the Pauline epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and Timothy—only probability speaks for Rome as the place of composition for the Epistle to the Hebrews—contain essentially different representations of Christianity or, above all, Roman influences that can only be explained by the racial mixture of the world city and its cultural soil, which, especially during the imperial period, had a strong Greek influence.

The conflicts between Greek philosophy and the Bible had already found their reflection in the wisdom literature of the Old Testament several centuries earlier, as well as at the end of the 1st century in the Gospel of John, which, however, was written in the East. This is not to deny that the early beginnings of Christianity stood under the law of development in space and time, which accompanies all natural events but also the supernatural work of God. Regardless of the truths laid down in the sacred books, Christianity was not a finished entity at the moment of its emergence. So what in Catholicism is supposed to be of distinctly Roman origin?

The liturgy? We know from the research of the eminent Orientalist Bickell that parts of the Passover rite of the post-exilic Jewish diaspora communities live on in the Mass liturgy. But it is equally certain that an incursion of Germanic-Frankish liturgy occurred soon after Charlemagne,

which brought valuable elements of Germanic customs into it, elements that continue to live on in the overall liturgy of the Roman Church to this day.

Beyond this, history and a glance at the liturgy of Western-Roman Christianity tell us that Greek spirituality and Hellenistic thought, Roman legal sensibility, and the ancient sense for the grand and majestic live on in its forms, finding rest and a harmonious clarity, while the contributions of the Germanic North fertilized more individual areas from German nationality.

Thus, we encounter in the Roman liturgy the interplay of cultural spheres that the Roman sense of form artistically shaped into a whole. The Roman liturgy, which represents something historically evolved, is thus a synthesis, without us being able to speak of syncretism in Christianity for that reason.

Let us take the dogma! Race theorists like Claus speak within human races of different style types (achievement human [Nordic], persistence human, redemption human [Mediterranean cultures], revelation human)—a classification whose legitimacy is difficult to prove, as we find similar characteristics in all races and peoples, though not everywhere with the same intensity. From this racial classification, it is claimed that the consciousness of sin, the idea of redemption, a hierarchically structured priesthood, and the afterlife conceptions of Christianity entered the gospel through the supposedly predisposed Mediterranean cultures that flourished in Rome during the imperial period and displaced ancient Roman culture, indeed, that the Semitization of Christianity extends back to the 1st century, as Paul allegedly infused the inherently Aryan Christianity with Semitic-Talmudic spirit.

It is hardly worth taking these historical constructions seriously, which, like the entire race doctrine, are not of German but of French origin¹⁵⁰. How do the disciples of Renan and David Friedrich Strauss explain the

¹⁵⁰ Hans Winhold, *Paul and Judaism*, W. Kohlhammer Publishing House, Stuttgart 1938.

fact that of all the apostles, Paul encountered the strongest opposition not among the pagans but within Judaism?

Did not Paul, the mixed-race individual from Hellenistic Tarsus, in a ingenious way first raise the race problem in the Epistle to the Romans and break through the racial narrowness of the Jews of his time in the realm of the spirit? Is not Christianity for him that universal religious worldview capable of uniting the peoples of the earth beyond all differences of language and race, without thereby extinguishing or absorbing what is legitimate and natural in language and race?

Incidentally, Harnack and Chamberlain contradict themselves precisely in their stance toward the personhood of Christ. Both proceed from an antisemitic standpoint but arrive at different conclusions in their judgment.

The origins of Christianity do not lie in the darkness of myth or the twilight of legend but in the full light of history. They demand nothing more from the modern person than objectivity in thought, sober judgment, and the clearing away of fantasies that have nothing in common with true science. No less problematic than the dispute over the significance of the apostle Paul in Christianity is the assumption that only the Oriental human knows the idea of redemption, while the Nordic race possesses only a world- and life-affirming, combatively shaped reality religion.

From comparative religious history, we know that the search for redemption and the idea of sin, these essential foundations with which Christianity operates, are by no means Semitic concepts but are also inherent in the Aryan religions of India and, far beyond, in almost all peoples ¹⁵¹. The prayers and religious rites of the Greeks and ancient Germans undoubtedly had their foundation in the need for atonement and

¹⁵¹ Cf. Gustav Mensching, *Riga, Appropriateness of the Christian Idea of Sin*, Leopold Ploß Publishing House, Gotha 1934. Mensching proceeds in his convincing argument from the assumption that the idea of sin is the “foundation of Christianity.”

liberation from human guilt. Is there not a mystery cult of the Greeks independent of Semitic influences?

No refutation is needed for another claim, that the idea of the priesthood first penetrated the gospel from the Oriental cultural sphere and was hierarchically developed in Rome. Peoples without priesthood belong to no high cultures. Even if the seers and seeresses among Greeks and Germans pointed to priestly actions, and even if no collegial, exclusive priestly class could initially develop from priestly functions. Those who know the richly structured organization of the Old Testament priesthood, as well as that of Egypt and Babylon, will not consider any special impulses from Rome necessary in this regard.

That individual religious ideas of the gospel had to receive a sharply defined formulation over the centuries in response to contemporary currents that threatened Christianity was a natural necessity. However, this dogmatic-historical development of Christianity, in its origin, did not take place in the West, thus not within the Roman Church, but in the East, where the first great conflicts of Christianity with the religious-philosophical currents of Greek antiquity occurred. The great theologians of the first centuries were of Greek nationality and, insofar as they belonged to the Roman cultural sphere, were under the influence of the Greeks. Think of Ambrose, who was dependent on Origen and the Alexandrian theological school, which influenced nearly all Greek Fathers up to John of Damascus, with whom the Oriental world experienced a certain theological closure. Think of Hilary of Poitiers, of Victorinus, who in the 4th century wrote the first Bible commentary in Latin, while until then Greek dominated scholarship. If we go further, the great theologians who influenced the further development of Christianity in antiquity were primarily North Africans. The African Church also played a magnificent role in legal matters within the entire Church. Augustine, the creator of Western theology, philosophy, dogmatics, and medieval state law, profoundly and decisively influenced, was Roman by his father but of Phoenician descent through his mother. Tertullian was an Illyrian. The first truly purebred Roman whose literary work, however, influenced the liturgy

more than dogma formation, was Gregory the Great in the 6th century. Even later, Thomas Aquinas, on whose writings Western theology continues to build, was related to the ruling Hohenstaufen family. In him, so to speak, two natures, the Mediterranean and the Nordic, are fused in splendid unity. He was German and Roman, Germanic and Roman in one person. He wrote in medieval Germanic-transformed lines and directed his philosophical polemic against the Arab-Semitic Enlightenment philosophy of his time, which began to obscure the Christianized West like a second Gnosis. His deeper education he received not in Naples and Orvieto but in Paris and Cologne, where another German, the Swabian Albertus Magnus from Lauingen, was his teacher.

When the problem is considered from a racial perspective, the surprising conclusion emerges that the most significant figures, from whom the strongest impulses for the further development of Western Christianity in its early and decisive centuries originated, were not racially pure but of mixed race. We observe very similar phenomena in the realm of secular culture in antiquity. It might not be too difficult to confirm this idea with examples from other cultures as well. Furthermore, how many figures of Germanic race were involved in the further development of Christian theology after the works of patristic and ancient authors were transmitted to the Germanic genius from the British Isles? It suffices here to recall men like Bede the Venerable, Alcuin, Rhabanus Maurus, and Walahfrid Strabo. In the monasteries and cathedral schools of Fulda, Reichenau, and St. Gallen, a scholarly activity flourished that could rival the schools of Tours, Orléans, Reims, and Chartres in significance. In all centuries, we find in Western Christianity a collaboration of races and nations, for only through this path could a world Church unfold despite many contradictions within human groups.

If we briefly consider the later development of the Roman Church from the perspective of the national and racial origins of its leading figures, we see that for the Council of Trent, whose influence extends to the present day and whose intellectual precursor was the last non-Italian pope, Hadrian VI, alongside Spanish theologians and the Italian Carlo Borromeo, a

German—Peter Canisius—exerted a decisive influence. The achievements of German theology in the fields of moral theology and canon law in the 18th century are remarkable. If in the 19th century German Catholicism was particularly leading in historical scholarship, a century earlier it was second to no other nation in other Catholic disciplines. Nothing would be more scientifically valuable, in the face of the claims of many radical race theorists today, who are often presented as infallible and see in Catholicism merely a Roman cultural sphere and an “Italian national church,” than a history of Catholic theology organized by races, nations, and tribes, as we already possess such a history of secular literature. When we view the era of the Reformation, the Baroque, Romanticism, and the reawakening of Catholicism from this perspective, there is no doubt that the German nation leads with its scholarly work within the entire Church, with a wealth of profound ideas and a multitude of impulses that, due to coexistence and constant engagement with other Christian denominations, have not been surpassed by any nation. Universal and national thinking and research have, in all centuries of our German people, often met in a marvelous harmony and expansive intellectual horizons.

Does the organization of Western Christianity show influences of Roman or allegedly predisposed Mediterranean cultures? The primacy of an apostle and the apostolic succession in the episcopate appear in the Bible as of divine origin, and therefore cannot be judged solely from the perspective of historical development. However, it is an entirely different question how far the development of the hierarchical organization into metropolitan sees and dioceses has been historically shaped. No one denies that the Roman political provincial structure could not remain without influence on the hierarchical organization of the world Church, but the major lines of organization were established much earlier in the post-exilic Jewish diaspora communities of the East. The organization of the Church is, in its essential components, of apostolic origin. Therefore, the development of the hierarchy through Rome did not fundamentally alter the essence of

Christianity ¹⁵². Ultimately, everything hinges on the question: Is the primacy of Rome, this most powerful hierarchical institution in world history, derived from the Roman cultural sphere, thus merely a continuation of the world-historical imperium in religious forms? This brings us to one of the most difficult and, among race researchers who extend the entire problem into religious culture, most contested areas.

It is, however, gratifying that in our days, even in Protestant scholarly circles, the ecclesiastical-historical and biblical assessment of the *Cathedra Petri* in the sense of the well-known text in Matthew (16:17–19) increasingly aligns with that of the Catholic Church.

Radical proponents of race science further claim that in Rome, under Etruscan influence, a fantastical afterlife doctrine infiltrated Christianity. Yet, precisely in this area, the dogmatic-historical development of Christianity up to the Middle Ages made no significant advances beyond the biblical conception. Anyone who compares the afterlife world of the Etruscans with that of Babylonians and Egyptians will note surprising connections and similarities but also observe that Christianity, including the books of the Old Testament, is far removed from the fantastical afterlife doctrines of these peoples. Above all, Christianity completely rejected the purely hedonistic afterlife conception of the Etruscans and Greeks. In Christianity, the afterlife is essentially spiritual.

It is an entirely different matter whether elements of Etruscan afterlife conceptions could have persisted for some time as common folk beliefs in the already Christianized world city of Rome. Undoubtedly, some terrifying images in Dante's *Divine Comedy* were influenced by these

¹⁵² Today's church law has significant borrowings from Roman law in its procedural regulations. Especially the strongly formalistic procedure is not approved by some, but overall, it is a mosaic of influences in which precisely the witnesses from Germanic legal customs have been adopted. In any case, no one will infer a change in the essence of Christianity from the adoption of many parts of Roman procedural law and Germanic particular views in the *Codex Iuris Canonici*.

Etruscan afterlife ideas. Answering this is a matter for comparative folklore, but in any case, even if affirmed, the essence of Christianity would not be affected. How many remnants of the Roman and ancient Germanic cultural spheres live on in Christianity today, yet no one would claim that these constitute or guide the essence of the Christian religion. Their disappearance would no more affect the latter than their persistence is disruptive, for they have entered into a marvelous synthesis and union with Christianity.

Catholicism is therefore not the religious expression of the Roman genius, the Roman peoples, or, racially speaking, the predisposed Mediterranean cultures. Other peoples and races have also contributed to the further development of Christianity. Greeks and Germans have brought valuable elements from the rich treasures of their spirit. So what was the religious task of Rome and thus of the “Roman” cultural sphere? Rome’s influence on the development of Christianity, in contrast to the restless Germanic and Nordic soul, lay in the preservation of the deposit of faith of the early Church against the attacks of all centuries and in the missionary work of the gospel. The attacks often came from other cultural and racial spheres (Arianism, Pelagianism, Reformation), but Rome always found the clear formulation of concepts and the preservation against all radical deviations of religiosity. In all centuries, Rome has demonstrated its great ability to act in a balancing manner—and that is an ancient Roman characteristic.

Indeed, we could say that without Rome, faith in Christ’s divinity and thus in the supernatural essence of Christianity would have long perished among many separated denominations in the intellectual struggles of the centuries.

The conclusions from the foregoing reflections, which aimed only in broad strokes to address a segment of the problem—Rome, Western Christianity, and the race question—are as follows:

1. In times of great conflicts and even greater confusion of concepts and words, only those best serve history, their people, and fatherland who muster the courage, within certain limits, to think conservatively, to

preserve the freedom of their scholarly conviction, and to stand against the current. Let us therefore beware, in such a complex field as the race question, of working with slogans. It is not scientifically tenable to designate certain races as destructive and others as culture-forming in advance or to label racially mixed areas as inherently suited for destruction. Every race has strengths and flaws. True progress of humanity is built on their harmonious cooperation. When assessing racial differences for cultural life, we must also consider that among civilized peoples, there are hardly any pure, unmixed races anymore. Numerous wars, migrations of peoples, the constant influx of ordinary populations from the countryside to large cities, the ease with which families, especially today, can change their places of residence—all this speaks against it. Furthermore, it seems to be confirmed that the breeding ground for high cultures is racially mixed geographical spaces, while single- or pure-race conditions lead to intellectual stagnation, just as self-sufficiency in the economic sphere hinders all progress ¹⁵³.

The excellent connoisseur of Roman history, Edward Gibbon, was able to establish this in his work *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (p. 33): “The narrow policy of preserving the pure blood of the ancient citizens without foreign admixture hindered the happiness of Athens and Sparta and accelerated their downfall.” This is not to claim that high cultures can only be the result of racial mixing or that racial mixing is the indispensable prerequisite for the emergence of genius.

2. The very example of Rome, where, on the ground of racial mixing of numerous peoples, thanks to the thoroughly foresighted Romans, a

¹⁵³ Thus judges Eugen Fischer, the director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute and rector of the University of Berlin, one of the most significant racial researchers of the present, that the Nordic race, where it appeared and still exists in its purest form, has not produced above-average cultural achievements, but rather in combination with somewhat equal races. He supports this claim by stating that, in his judgment, the majority of great Germans originated from a crossing of the Nordic with the Alpine race.

marvelous Christian high culture flourished while the political world empire of the Caesars sank, teaches us that the purely biological explanation of races, which are not static, must fail if the undeniable great role of the spiritual is not also considered. Cultures are shaped by blood and race, climate, and soil, but primarily by the spiritual, which has its own laws that we can only observe through painstaking research, because nothing is as infinitely diverse as the workings of the spirit among peoples. Therefore, whoever overextends the race concept not only arrives at the rejection of the world Church as the bearer of a synthesis of cultures and a universal, supranational Christianity but goes beyond this to the rejection of Christianity altogether and, when the race doctrine is developed into radical antisemitism, to the separation of the Old Testament from the New. Those who see in race the sole culture-forming principle must logically reject Christianity, as its first bearers belonged to a foreign race, in other words, we fall back into the numerous national religions of antiquity, which Christianity was meant to overcome in the sense of a unified worldview. New dividing lines are drawn between races and peoples, thereby merely pointing to the danger of an exaggeration of the race question, by no means denying the self-preservation of races within certain limits. Thus, the race concept in that exaggerated form, in which some today, contrary to the political program of National Socialism, advocate it, is not only a struggle against Rome and Christianity but against the very idea of God. The overestimation of biological elements and the biological in history has always ended in materialism.

We can go further in rejecting various conclusions that today, in connection with the doctrine of the racial soul, are simply assumed as infallible results of science. Particularly contentious is the claim that cultural decline is always the necessary consequence of racial degeneration; it can be a consequence or at least a contributing factor, but it does not always have to be. The ancient history of Greece, Rome, Egypt, and Babylon shows us that cultural peaks by no means must coincide with times of alleged racial purity, indeed, that these states were no longer nation-states or possessed racially pure human material in their greatest moments of

history. Consider the era of Augustus in Rome! Equally clear is the further fact that every culture builds on the achievements of a preceding one. There are no isolated cultures. The Greek culture did not emerge all at once but presupposes centuries of earlier cultures. The entire ancient culture is unthinkable without the East. Nor is that of the modern age, whether we count in centuries or millennia, woven from the solitude of the wilderness or the blood of humans, but has organically grown from other works. All peoples contribute to the enrichment of high culture. In religious culture, it is similar, for Christianity presupposes nature, does not destroy it, but perfects it. We therefore find parallels to Christianity, similar religious forms, and ideas among many other peoples, in the most diverse cultural spheres, but this fact does not prove anything against Christianity; rather, it tells us that Christianity has absorbed the deepest religious needs of the human soul, that the human soul is Christian by nature. As Clement of Alexandria so profoundly says, there is a *logos spermatikos* among all peoples, for Christ was the light of the world long before He walked among humans. "Before Abraham was, I am." He surrounded the peaks of ancient intellectual history with His radiance and gathered from the Jewish, Indian, and Greek cultures what they preserved, nurtured, and developed of positive, religious values.

The struggle for Rome, especially from the radical race doctrine, is therefore understandable for anyone who views and judges the development of humanity's intellectual history from a higher power. Rome represents the idea of the unity of Christianity, the unity of the human race beyond all races and nations.

The 19th century brought us the purely materialistic explanation of history, which initially saw in the events of peoples only a soulless weaving and passing (Schopenhauer), later sought to explain everything through social class struggles in the sense of Marxism (Bebel, Kautsky). Today, everything flees, to avoid final decisions, with Goethe's Faust behind the myth of race and blood. Have we not indeed landed back in Haeckel's monism?

3. According to the Christian worldview, unconditional superiority and primacy belong not to blood but to the spirit. Where the human will shows weaknesses and inhibitions, the deepest root lies, however much climate, landscape, and race may play a role, in a spiritual sphere, in original sin and not in blood. Therefore, race can never alone and for itself be elevated to a moral value concept, without us denying that individual races distinguish themselves through specific, characteristic predispositions. The hereditary stream can create important preconditions for the spiritual-moral human, but it can never ground them. The essence of the human is determined not only by eternal natural laws biologically but also by the spirit, unless we ultimately wish to deny the freedom of the will. The task of science is to investigate how far climate, landscape, environment, and blood shape and influence the spiritual-moral attitude of a nation. But whoever seeks to write a history of nations determined by blood and race is no less a materialist than the disciples of Marxism, who seek to explain the development of peoples solely by economically and class-conditioned oppositions.

In the face of radical expressions of the race concept, only liberation from materialism helps, because spiritual life is more than a natural-scientific description of reflex chains and types; only the exercise of criticism can reject exaggerations and fantasies that would otherwise bury the great and future-oriented potential for spirit and science, which lies in various ideas of modern race science. However, extending the race concept into the essence of Christianity inevitably leads to the abandonment of the absolute, to remaining stuck in the natural, to the loss of all unconditional values, to the relativism of knowledge and morality.

4. Christianity in itself is not a culture alongside other cultures and does not directly create a distinct culture from itself but can connect with any cultural sphere that does not deny the foundations of the philosophia perennis, to imbue it with the highest ethos of its religious world with specific foundational ideas. Christianity, however, preserves human culture from completely sinking into a naturalistic philosophy. We must therefore not equate Christianity with a specific culture, as if Catholicism were the

Latin form of Christianity or the Roman culture were more than a historical and surely also providential accompanying phenomenon of Western Christianity in some of its expressions. Catholicism does not mean Romanization or the dominance of the Latin cultural world. Whoever subscribes to such a view harms the universal Church just as much as those hyper-nationalist circles of fascism, according to whom only Roman culture and organization lifted Christianity from the ghetto of a race-bound Jewish sect in Palestine to the dominant position of a world religion.

Finally, we ask ourselves:

5. Wherein lies the German characteristic in religious thinking at all? Does the Germanic human truly have a different religious and moral sensibility that was, so to speak, alienated and corrupted by Mediterranean, Oriental, and Roman elements? In which writers before the Reformation does this come to expression most clearly, given that Meister Eckhart can hardly be made the founder of modern, religious, German currents? In this question, too, much dispassionate objectivity is required to distinguish the true from the false, fantasy from reality. Even if one sees the mystical as characteristic of the religious nature of the Germanic human in a certain autonomous, subjective attitude toward external authority, the essence of German humanity can hardly be reduced to a fixed formula. The German shares too much in intellectual matters with other peoples. In any case, it would be wrong to claim that the German human only found their characteristic religious expression with Luther. The Reformation, in its beginnings, was merely a theologians' dispute that did not touch the Germanic folk soul at all. It was the territorial princes who politically misused this religious revolt of the North against Rome for their selfish goals. Should we erase seven centuries from German history and deprive numerous leading figures of the Middle Ages, who were deeply Catholic and national, of their national significance? Nothing would be more misguided than, for example, equating a certain pantheistic religious conception, whose representatives we find among all races and nations, with the religious genius of the German. It is also absurd when, for instance, Chamberlain claims that Germans are always inclined toward tolerance in

religious matters, while the Semitic race thinks only materialistically without metaphysical capacities! How then does one explain the Saxon Wars, which were not only political but also religious wars? Whence came the wealth of medieval philosophy in the schools of Cologne, Fulda, and St. Gallen, which were not insignificantly influenced by the Arab-Jewish intellectual currents of that time?

6. Many researchers of our time, who base their claims solely on the concept of race, see an essential contradiction between national sentiment and the universal character that Christianity, particularly in Catholicism, has found. Love for one's own nationality, its history, and future is said to be incompatible with a Catholic worldview. Often, they explicitly speak of a dying off of national feeling in the atmosphere of Catholic religious life. Undoubtedly, Catholicism and the idea of humanity, in the sense of ancient humanism and far beyond it, are closely connected. Everything truly Catholic is a steadfast restraint against radicalisms, in whatever fields they may occur, uniting people and nations that today have nothing more in common than their belonging to the same genius, in the awareness of a higher spiritual bond. However, this does not mean that in Catholicism, all races are simply leveled and all national elements are simply suppressed. Even within the essential common foundations of Christianity shared by all, every people and every race will retain and refine their good, inherent characteristics, for grace presupposes nature and does not abolish it but only perfects it. The German remains a German in Catholicism, the Greek a Greek, the Semite a Semite, the Aryan an Aryan; otherwise, Christianity would be tantamount to the destruction of nationality and the biological values and natural laws laid into nature by God Himself.

Church life is not something bloodless or cosmopolitanly international but expresses itself in the concrete reality of a nationally conditioned community, a nationality. The Church, in its self-realization, is therefore necessarily tied to the character of the people it faces. Thus, there will always be a difference in how the same church life is realized among Greeks, Romans, Germans, Slavs, or Asians. When one asks, from this perspective, about the contribution of Germandom to world Catholicism,

it lies in the activism that the Nordic peoples brought into Christianity and thus into the world Church. As valuable as the formation of religious concepts and the emphasis on law in the organization of a world Church may be, the possibility and danger of stagnation were perhaps, in some epochs of church history, also held in check by the restless, problem-oriented Nordic soul, which constantly pressed for reform, internalization, a stronger moral sense of responsibility, and deepening, in order to remain fruitful. It lies in the essence of a world religion that all races and peoples work together harmoniously within it, and therefore are equally entitled and equally obligated.

Perhaps the Eastern Church, separated from Rome, lacked precisely such an element; otherwise, the stagnation that has occurred in individual national churches and the isolation of Oriental Christianity from the cultural ideas of state and national history would hardly be comprehensible. But in all these thoughts and suggestions, let us not forget that Christianity is essentially supernatural, revelation, faith. Therefore, when considering the extent to which the nationally and racially conditioned heritage of peoples was drawn upon in its further development, it must not be simply equated or treated the same as natural religions. One of the great errors of the past was that an overload of comparative religious and national history stifled the sense for the essence of Christianity as a supernatural religion. This explains many misguided judgments about Christianity and about the natural religions of ancient, not yet Hinduized India and Greece, insofar as it had not yet absorbed pre-Asian influences (cf. the writings of Otto, Ryneff, Günther), and of the ancient Germans (Kummer, Gronbach). We are certainly partly faced with questions and problems that did not occupy or interest the past to the same extent as our present. Only through numerous individual studies could it be determined how one can speak of a human element in the ordering of Christianity, in legal matters, the formation of concepts, formulations, and modes of expression, without reducing Christianity from the rank of a revelation to an ordinary life philosophy.

Theological scholarship can, through individual studies, show how the races and peoples, in which, according to Clement of Alexandria, the Logos was already active before Christ's coming, contributed to the further development of Christianity. However, it should not be overlooked that Christianity is not a syncretism of religions and that faith and knowledge are not to be equated. Perhaps the Christian apologetics of recent decades, in their zeal to defend Christianity against modern attacks, have overstated some things and believed that one-sided rational proofs and analogical conclusions could deepen the foundations of the Christian religion. Faith is not knowledge alone but, ultimately, a work of humility and grace of the yielding intellect and will where strict mathematical proofs must fail. Thus, even this small excerpt from Europe's religious history, considered and judged through the lens of the race concept, shows how many dangers for Christianity are associated with the radicalization of this idea.

3.6. Sterilization and Eugenics ¹⁵⁴

The dogmatic structure of National Socialism rests on two concepts: nation and race. From these two foundations, which are closely interconnected, significant practical demands of uncompromising clarity arise as soon as they are consistently thought through. The overemphasis on the concepts of race—hereditary race—carries the danger of a distancing from Christianity for the Germanic human, as this “religion originated from foreign races and cultural spheres,” while in the field of hygienic-social policy, the consequence appears as the elimination of the hereditarily diseased race through marriage bans and sterilization. Unless the concepts of nation and race are given a narrower interpretation, it is difficult to avoid these two conclusions. With utmost clarity, therefore, the demand for sterilization appears in the entire leading National Socialist literature as a self-evident matter, for which the radical proponents would allow no further justification or evaluation from the realm of morality. In this sense, Alfred Rosenberg declared on December 14, 1934, in Hamburg ¹⁵⁵:

“Every great turning point in world history does not originate from military powers but from worldview. Worldview shifts determine the fate of peoples.

With the year 1933, a worldview and political turning point entered the life of nations, as occurs only every half or full millennium. National

¹⁵⁴ On the essence, tasks, and goals of racial policy in the new Germany, the special issue with further literature references informs: *German Racial Policy*. With a foreword by the SS Race and Settlement Office by Horst Rechenbach, *South German Monthly*, Munich.

Cf. also J. Jung, *Human Selection and Racial Hygiene (Eugenics)*, 3rd edition, Munich 1931; J. Mayer, *Legal Sterilization of the Mentally Ill*, Freiburg 1927; H. Pfatschbacher, *Eugenic Marriage Impediments?*, Vienna 1933; J. Paup, *Folk Hygiene or Selective Racial Hygiene?*, Leipzig 1931.

¹⁵⁵ Full text, *Political Observer*, December 18, 1934, “The Ideological Struggle of National Socialism.”

Socialism brought a new attempt to become conscious of itself. It brought the discovery of the interconnectedness of body and soul, which determines not only philosophical but also state and economic life. It is not about the recognition of any dogmas but about the fruitfulness of German life.

If there are still people today who argue about the value of sterilization, they do not grasp that without sterilization, in a few centuries, for every two Germans, there will be one idiot, and all cultural treasures will be destroyed. We can no longer allow a dispute about whether sterilization is Christian or un-Christian.

The old powers will also have to come to terms with race science and the profound connections between body and soul. The old powers will have to come to terms with many things. They will later make them their own, just as the Christian Church once made the formerly opposed pagan cross its symbol.”

In the question of sterilization and eugenics, it is certainly not about things that National Socialism discovered or made the subject of scientific and daily political debates. Decades earlier, we encounter similar efforts, which also soon led to legal measures in various states. The classic land of racial-eugenic endeavors is England, as well as the entire Nordic cultural sphere, including North America with its Protestant majority. Admittedly, the motivations in many states are more punitive measures and less eugenic in nature.

The German Society for Racial Hygiene, co-founded by Alfred Ploetz ¹⁵⁶, stated as early as 1912 that the time for compulsory sterilization of the mentally deficient and otherwise degenerate in Germany had not yet come, but that the sterilization of those with hereditary diseases, upon their own request or with their consent, should soon be legally regulated. The National Socialist deputy Dr. Boeters not only demanded the sterilization of the hereditarily deficient in his draft law “Lex Zwickau” submitted to the

¹⁵⁶ Cf. his work *The Importance of Our Race and the Protection of the Weak*, 1898, which is dependent on Gobineau and Lapouge, less on the Englishman Galton.

Reichstag in October 1927 but also, on his own responsibility, had a larger number of sterilizations carried out for racial-hygienic reasons.

Thus, even before 1935 in Germany, individual medical circles and socialist deputies ensured the advancement of these ideas, and a draft law was long prepared, which, however, went far beyond those of other states and did not reach a decision due to resistance from Christian circles. This trend toward racial-eugenic legislation may also have been reinforced by the uncertain stance of individual Catholic theologians in Germany and North America, which also comes to expression in the subsequent polemic of the well-known newspaper *Germania* against the pastoral letter of the Austrian bishops from 1933:

“The ‘unchristian sterilization law’ is not to be addressed as a fundamental issue but as a legal measure of the national government of Germany, the tendency of which is also approved by Catholic theologians. Admittedly, this measure has given rise to reservations from church authorities with the Reich government in one point, but in the implementing provisions, certain concessions have also been immediately granted. On both the state and church sides, there is a sincere desire to reach a peaceful agreement on this and other differences.”

“The Church will review its stance on whether the opinion it has held so far, that sterilization contradicts Christian and natural ethics, holds true, and will come to embrace the idea that eugenic sterilization can be seen as a medical act on the national body and also on the national soul and then recognized as an act of neighborly love.”

For National Socialism, however, it is not merely about a legal measure but rather about the realization of a demand that follows with the utmost necessity from the race dogma. It is the worldview of Gobineau, Nietzsche, and Chamberlain about the worthlessness of hereditarily diseased life that is being incorporated into legislation. It suffices, from the history of these sterilization efforts, which have already affected numerous states, to make a few remarks, as anyone seeking deeper insights in this

morally, medically, and equally controversial field must thoroughly study the leading literature to obtain an objective judgment ¹⁵⁷.

Besides America, the Swiss canton of Vaud and Germany, a larger number of European states have enacted such laws. Sterilization laws exist today, in addition to the countries just mentioned, in Finland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Estonia. Draft laws are pending in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Japan, Yugoslavia, Romania, New Zealand, and the Baltic states.

In about one-third of modern states, sterilization is already a mandatory law for the mentally ill and habitual criminals. In contrast, the Latin cultural sphere with a predominantly Catholic population has so far resisted (Italy, France, Spain, and also Austria).

In the North American Union, no fewer than 23 states have legally introduced sterilization for some time. It may be performed on criminals, the insane, the feeble-minded, morally degenerate individuals, sexually perverse persons, seducers, drunkards, epileptics, syphilitics, etc. The execution of the operation is overseen by a specially appointed committee composed of state-designated experts. In Canada, the province of Alberta passed a sterilization law for the mentally ill in 1928. It provides for the sterilization of those persons who, although not cured or incurable, are to be released from asylums for various reasons. Sterilization may only be carried out if the patient, if capable, gives their own consent or if the consent of the spouse, potential guardian, or another close relative is provided. The supervision of the operation is also here entrusted to a special medical council. In Switzerland, it is the canton of Vaud that similarly passed a sterilization law in 1928. Those declared sterilizable are the mentally weak and mentally ill whose condition is recognized as incurable and whose offspring, according to human foresight, would be hereditarily

¹⁵⁷ P. Agapito Martin de Sobradillo, O.M.C., *La procréation et la stérilisation au point de vue du droit naturel*, Librairie Saint-François d'Assise Publishing House, Paris 1933.

burdened. The canton's health council may only authorize sterilization after obtaining the concurring opinions of three doctors.

In Denmark, a law exclusively for moral offenders has existed since 1920, incorporated as an amendment to the civil penal code. Of all Nordic countries, Denmark's sterilization law of 1935 goes the furthest. Norway had such a law since 1934, while in Sweden, it was still under discussion. The leading principles of this legislation are: security instead of punishment for hereditarily burdened individuals and the rebuilding of the state on a biological basis, the suppression of "unrestrained" individualism through a new concept of the family built on hereditary laws and determined by the prospect of the national community, to sharpen the biological sense of responsibility of the people. International congresses (New York 1932) and an international program committee (Brussels 1922) ensure the further spread of this idea. At the head of the International Federation stands the well-known German racial hygienist Ernst Rüdin, who also wrote the explanatory notes for the German Reich law.

In almost all Nordic countries, the program is characterized by the following: health certificates before marriage, selective internal settlement policy (homeownership, small farmer settlements) with the selection of viable individuals, family policy (promotion of large offspring), alcohol legislation, eradication of venereal diseases, segregation of certain criminals. Particular reference is made to the high birth rate in predominantly Slavic and Romance states—except for France—compared to the sharply declining one in Germanic states (most notably in Austria, England, and Sweden). It is noteworthy that the Romance cultural sphere has so far remained distant from these endeavors. At the XI International Congress for Penal Law and Prison Affairs, held in Berlin in August 1935, the Swiss professor Naville served as rapporteur on the issues of castration and sterilization. In the third session, which dealt with prevention issues, the question of castration of violent criminals and sterilization of psychopaths, from whom only inferior and crime-prone offspring could be expected, took center stage in the discussions. Through the efforts of the chairman Delaquis and the rapporteur Naville, a mediating formula was found, which was

unanimously adopted in the session and by an overwhelming majority in the plenary assembly. It recommends both mentioned measures, both at the request of the individuals to be operated on and compulsorily, the latter only after the execution of a proper procedure that guarantees a thorough examination of the conditions by a committee of experts and jurors.

The essential content of the German Law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Offspring, with legal effect from January 1, 1934 (Reichsgesetzblatt No. 86 of July 25, 1933, Part I), stipulates compulsory sterilization of certain hereditarily ill individuals through a surgical procedure under three conditions:

1. If, according to the experiences of medical science, it is highly probable that the offspring will suffer from severe physical or mental hereditary damage.
2. If a corresponding application is submitted in writing either by the person concerned themselves or, in case of their reduced legal capacity, by their legal representative, or also by the public health officer, or finally, in the case of inmates of hospitals, sanatoriums, nursing homes, or penal institutions, by the institution's director.
3. If an official hereditary health court has decided in favor of this application.

Further provisions regulating the details of this law, which comprises 18 paragraphs, are intended to facilitate its implementation. An official commentary and the explanations of Ministerial Director Dr. Gütt in a press conference at the Reich Propaganda Ministry on January 8, 1934, provide additional clarifications. The essential ideas are as follows:

1. Sterilization is only permissible if the disease is medically indisputably established, and
2. the hereditary health court, after free evaluation of evidence, concludes that the offspring will, with high probability, be hereditarily ill.

As the ethical basis for such a decision, it is stated:

“In the future, there should no longer be hereditarily diseased offspring, sparing families endless suffering and the community new burdens. As far as this goal can be achieved by other means, the legislator

does not consider the application of the procedure absolutely necessary. Therefore, persons who are already permanently institutionalized should not be sterilized, just as it seems unobjectionable to refrain from procedures if hereditarily ill individuals voluntarily remain in an institution. If there is a danger to life, the procedure can be omitted.”

Fundamentally, the provisions of voluntary jurisdiction apply to the procedure before the Hereditary Health Court. Regulations have been established to prevent any misuse. It is particularly noteworthy that the overall judgment must always be made solely based on objective medical principles and the experiences of medical science. Public health officers and experts must handle cases with utmost conscientiousness. For example, it would not be appropriate to immediately sterilize institutional inmates who might only be released from the institution in a year, or to begin with schoolchildren, where the risk of producing hereditarily diseased offspring is not a concern.

The Reich German sterilization law lists eight groups of diseases (schizophrenia, epilepsy, hereditary blindness, hereditary deafness, etc.), whose carriers are to be rendered infertile by institutional physicians. Through the Reich Law of October 18, 1935 (Law for the Protection of the Hereditary Health of the German People ¹⁵⁸), the catalog of grounds for marriage bans is expanded to eleven items. The new law, which continues the eugenic idea, imposes a requirement for all engaged couples to undergo medical examination at health offices. The certificate of eligibility for marriage is denied in the following cases:

1. If one of the fiancés suffers from a contagious disease that poses a significant risk to the health of the other spouse or their offspring.
2. If one of the fiancés is legally incapacitated or under provisional guardianship.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. also the implementing regulation of December 10, 1935 (Reichsgesetzblatt, I, p. 1419).

3. If one of the fiancés, without being legally incapacitated, suffers from a mental disorder that makes the marriage undesirable for the national community.

4. If one of the fiancés suffers from a hereditary disease as defined by the Law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Offspring.

Noteworthy is the provision that, despite sterilization, entering into a marriage is not permitted, as the legislator, aiming for population growth, does not wish to allow a healthy spouse to remain childless. Problematic appears the inclusion of “mental disorders” (thus not only actual mental illnesses already listed in the sterilization law but also neuroses, depressions, etc.), which are difficult to definitively diagnose during the summary examination by public health officers.

The penal provisions of the law threaten the conclusion of a prohibited marriage or the attempt thereof with imprisonment from three months to five years. If both fiancés or the groom are foreigners, the law does not apply. However, foreign women wishing to marry a German must undergo the medical examination ¹⁵⁹. They also fall under the penal provisions if they provide false information about their health status or attempt other deceptions; however, prosecution occurs only upon special order, which the Reich Minister of the Interior issues in agreement with the Reich Minister of Justice. Marriages concluded abroad to circumvent the new Reich law are invalid.

The general moral decline since the World War (statistics on live births and stillbirths), the destruction of nascent life, the economic hardship of large families, the significant numerically documented increase in mental illnesses in recent decades ¹⁶⁰, the decline in birth rates alongside the rise in unemployment, and poor housing conditions have significantly

¹⁵⁹ Further regulations are eagerly awaited.

¹⁶⁰ In the years 1923 to 1929, according to some researchers, the number of mentally weak and insane in public welfare institutions in Germany increased by 65 percent.

contributed to these laws. The immense phrase about the “sum of immorality awakening morality” is not without justification. National Socialism considers these issues partly from a financial perspective, partly from the biological worldview, in which inferior and hereditarily diseased life has no right to reproduction. Many supporters see in this legislation the salvation of Germany from decline ¹⁶¹. According to an estimate by Grothaus, approximately 20 million people in Germany are to be considered undesirable for reproduction ¹⁶². The main reasons cited by the eugenic movement are:

1. The statistically undeniable fact that the inferior portion of populations reproduces more rapidly and disproportionately compared to the superior.
2. The purpose of reproduction must be a qualitative population policy, not merely a quantitative one.
3. Modern eugenic-biological research considers family, nationality, and individuality from perspectives that were completely inaccessible to earlier times. Medicine previously treated the individual. Since biology recognized the individual as a function of a life stream and a living whole, the art of healing has turned from the treatment of the individual to that of an entire life stream. Just as the Church made the transition from the

¹⁶¹ The well-known race and heredity researcher Prof. Eugen Fischer, Berlin, spoke at the large gathering in Karlsruhe on February 22, 1934, on Race and Culture: “We have in Germany the sharpest decline in birth rates that any people in Europe has had, and have thereby surpassed France and Poland. Statistics show that, above all, the best and healthiest forces in Germany have imposed a voluntary birth restriction upon themselves. This leads to serious danger. Even if necessity forces us to make certain restrictions, we must ensure that at least the good and healthy reproduce and not only the hereditarily inferior. National Socialism has recognized this necessity as the first. It will thereby save Germany, set an example for the world, and thus also preserve the entire European culture from decline!”

¹⁶² National Socialist Monthly, No. 24, 1932, p. 757.

Ptolemaic to the Copernican worldview, it will also make the transition from individual medicine to hereditary biology. The latter opens new fields and forms of caring love.

4. While many capable individuals, driven by selfishness or economic necessity, voluntarily forgo offspring, the state bears enormous costs from the taxes of the capable for the care institutions, reformatories, and welfare programs filled with the hereditarily inferior.

The objections to these eugenic endeavors of National Socialism do not come from Protestant circles but from Catholic ones. In other states, only in Norway was there a Protestant counter-movement that expressed its moral concerns. The Germanic, predominantly evangelical cultural sphere is already completely dominated by eugenic-racial endeavors. Here, a remarkable fact emerges: today, as in Luther's time, Protestantism religiously adheres to individualism with a rejection of any stronger church community idea, but in the social sphere, it thinks entirely collectivistically with an almost complete exclusion of individual culture and personal care. With the principle "community over self-interest," Protestant ethics adapts to conditions in which the idea of community claims absolute precedence. Catholic morality seeks a golden mean between the demands of an individualistic and collectivistic culture. It is understandable that this places it in difficulties vis-à-vis movements that radically advance their ideas and reject compromises outright. This problem, which is both morally-religious and scientifically-medical, becomes all the more complex because the scientific standpoint has not yet been fully clarified in all questions and has not reached definitive conclusions, as the official explanations of the German Reich law best demonstrate. Inheritance must be distinguished from hereditary predisposition, which can be mitigated in various cases through appropriate medical treatment. Thus, two views confront each other here, both claiming dogmatic character. Ultimately, it is a struggle between the freedom of the individual and an exaggerated concept of community. A reconciliation on a middle ground, as desirable as it may be for those familiar with both standpoints, appears difficult because two fundamentally different perspectives on life face each other—the

biological and the religious-natural law perspective. However, certain accommodations could be considered for hospitals owned by Catholic orders, associations, and federations through a more lenient state interpretation of individual paragraphs ¹⁶³, to avoid the active participation of nuns, Catholic, conscientious doctors, guardians, and judges in hereditary health courts and in the implementation of laws when these contradict the religious conscience of the individual. Practically, the general principles of Christian morality and the possibility of participation in acts forbidden from a Christian standpoint (*cooperatio materialis et formalis*) would be decisive. Another difficulty is the fact that the Church permits marriages of sterilized persons (*non esse impediendos*), while the state prohibits them.

If one wishes to correctly assess these eugenic endeavors in their development, one must above all not overlook that Marxist rule signified a complete moral collapse in Europe. It suffices to recall the popular-scientific lectures on contraception recommended and supported by this party, and the establishment of clinics dealing with the recommendation of contraceptive methods. The statistical evidence for Germany and Austria regarding racial composition, age structure, and the quality of newborns is shocking. Only a positive eugenics with truly Christian-national thinking could provide relief here. It is nothing other than the courage not only to die for the fatherland but also to live for it. This would naturally also incorporate hereditary-biological considerations into charitable work. The number of children in itself cannot be decisive, but rather the expected quality. Life, too, requires an order through reason (rationalization of welfare tasks, registries of the inferior, facilitation of prognosis for hereditary pathologies, incapacitation of individuals for certain reasons, etc.).

¹⁶³ Cf. also Article 6 of the implementing provisions of the German Reich Law: "Persons who are permanently in a closed institution are exempt from sterilization if the state is not burdened by this stay."

The standpoint of Catholicism on all these questions is laid out in the encyclical *Casti Connubii* of Pope Pius XI from December 31, 1930, and in several decisions of the supreme papal Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (Holy Office), particularly that of March 21, 1931, in which eugenic endeavors regarding marriage were condemned ¹⁶⁴. Both aim not to create new law but to defend natural law against modern state demands. The Catholic Church condemns any restriction of the right to marriage by secular authorities; it defines this right as a natural right of the human person and thus as one that precedes any right of society. It teaches that burdened individuals should be dissuaded from marriage and that education should teach the value of sacrifice for the common good; but it rejects any legal coercive measure: secular authorities can never, not even on the basis of a medical certificate, prohibit a marriage. Defining impediments to marriage is solely the prerogative of the Church. The state may impose marriage bans for military personnel and employees under certain conditions, but not impediments in the proper sense.

Castration and sterilization are thus impermissible violations of the body, to which no person may consent. The Catholic Church allows no compromise in these matters and points to the great danger that one will very quickly find the path from medical and eugenic indications to social ones, in other words, to a naturalistic view of life. It prohibits all measures that could reduce the birth rate, thus also all contraceptive methods. This consistent standpoint is laid out in the encyclical *Casti Connubii*. For Catholics, neither compulsory nor voluntary sterilization comes into consideration, and therefore no Catholic can, with a clear conscience, request sterilization. The encyclical leaves open only one possibility to limit the birth rate: voluntary abstinence practiced in mutual agreement. Papal encyclicals, while not strictly dogmatic *ex cathedra* decisions, are binding on the conscience of every Catholic as pronouncements of the highest ecclesiastical authority, as they take a stand on significant questions of contemporary history.

¹⁶⁴ *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 1931.

The Church does not reject the serious, scientific endeavors of medicine and race research to promote a healthy people, but it condemns that eugenics which abandons the distinction between body and soul and claims an absolute autonomy, a moral primacy in the sense of Kant's philosophy. A national doctrine of humanity and population policy that collaborates with hereditary care and racial hygiene is therefore entirely welcome, as long as spiritual factors are not overlooked and, in the zeal for race and people, a naturalism is not introduced that should precisely be eliminated from national life.

The justification for rejecting sterilization cannot be drawn solely from Thomas Aquinas, whose biology, based on the Aristotelian concept of nature (*physis*, vitalism), did not yet allow for the laws of inheritance or the modern eugenic problematic ¹⁶⁵. The arguments must therefore primarily be drawn from natural law, as the Church does not deny that in reproduction, quantity and quality together must be the ideal goal, not one alone. Nor are the concepts of "personal freedom of the citizen, guilty, innocent" fully clarified in Thomas ¹⁶⁶.

The Catholic Church points to the following key considerations to justify its stance:

1. It is a fact that precisely the healthy, economically prosperous forces in Germany—and this is likely true everywhere—impose voluntary

¹⁶⁵ In *Summa Theologica*, II-II, dist. 42, qu. 1, art. 4. Cf. Edelbert Kurz, *Individual and Community in St. Thomas Aquinas*, 1932, p. 39, and Edelbert Welty, O.Pr., *Community and Individual According to the Principles of St. Thomas Aquinas*, 1935, Anton Pustet Publishing House, Salzburg-Leipzig.

¹⁶⁶ Numerous references are contained in Albert Mitterer, *Man and Woman According to the Biological Worldview of St. Thomas and That of the Present*, *Journal-Theological Volume* 87, 1933, pp. 491–586, Sel. Bausch, Innsbruck 1933, and Albert Mitterer, *The Connection of Man to Nature According to the Worldview of St. Thomas and That of the Present. A Contribution to Natural and Cultural Philosophy*; *Journal-Theological Volume* 86, 1932, pp. 1–48, Sel. Bausch, Innsbruck.

birth restrictions on themselves. Eliminating the hereditarily ill from reproduction does not resolve the issue of the birth rate decline unless the healthy, economically well-off circles, for moral, not eugenic reasons, make sacrifices for their own nationality to achieve a high birth rate. But has any state in history achieved through legal measures the influencing of this essential part of population policy? Does a sterilization law actually serve the entirety of the population, or is it not merely dominated by the race concept? So far, no state that has introduced sterilization has published precise statistics on the actual population policy successes of these measures, especially not on the question of whether healthy hereditary offspring have increased there. Moreover, research on hereditary diseases is hardly advanced enough to make secure decisions easily.

2. The reproductive capacity (*potentia generandi*) is an essential element of personhood ¹⁶⁷. A person may, for reasons of a higher order (love of God), refrain from exercising this natural predisposition, but the elimination of the capacity itself must be considered mutilation.

3. Precisely the care for the helpless has always been a source of heroic self-sacrifice for others in human history, and no person may be excluded from this love. The greater the need, the more forthcoming the willingness to help must be.

¹⁶⁷ It is a fallacy to justify sterilization by pointing to the celibacy prescribed by the Catholic Church for its priests, as the motives belong to a different ethical evaluation and therefore cannot be the subject of an intervention in natural law. The existence of a function is one thing; its use is another.

4. Sterilization can be imposed by the state ¹⁶⁸ as a punishment for a corresponding offense, but in the case of the hereditarily ill, one can hardly speak of personal guilt.

¹⁶⁸ According to the Political Observer, No. 231, 1935, Alfred Rosenberg stated in his speech held on August 25 in Heiligenstadt: "By the way, St. Thomas Aquinas declared in his main work that it is sometimes permissible to mutilate someone's limbs. He writes as follows: 'Since, moreover, man has relations to the community as to his end, the amputation of his particular limb may well be detrimental to the individual's body, yet it may benefit the good of the community.' This passage, which goes far beyond sterilization, has apparently escaped the Church. I therefore allow myself to point this out."

The passage cited here is naturally treated in numerous scholarly writings on the sterilization question from the Catholic side and is also found in the encyclical of Pius XI. But Rosenberg omits in his reproduction where Thomas continues: "insofar as the amputation of a limb is inflicted on someone as punishment for the suppression of sins." That St. Thomas has only the case of a severe mutilation in mind is evident from the subsequent sentence, which Rosenberg no longer includes: "And thus, just as someone may lawfully be completely deprived of life by public authority for some greater offenses, so too may he be lawfully deprived of a limb for lesser offenses." Thus, St. Thomas by no means "goes far beyond sterilization," but clearly limits the permissibility of physical mutilation to the case of individually proven and correspondingly grave guilt.

Summa Theologica II-II, quaestio 65, art. 1:

Sed quia ipse totus homo ordinatur, ut ad finem, ad totam communitatem, cuius est pars, ut supra dictum est, quaest. 61, art. 1, et quaest. praec., art. 2 et 5, potest contingere quod abscissio membri etsi vergat in detrimentum totius corporis, ordinetur tamen ad bonum communitatis, in quantum alicui infertur in poenam ad cohibitionem peccatorum. Et ideo sicut per publicam potestatem aliquis licite privatur totaliter vita propter aliquas majores culpas, ita etiam privatur membro propter aliquas culpas minores.

5. Since the purpose of marriage is twofold (Church law, Canon 1013), marriages of persons sterilized by state coercion are not to be prevented, although the other party, who learns of their partner's condition only after the marriage, may, if necessary, file for separation with the ecclesiastical court (Canon 1129).

6. Modern eugenic endeavors carry the danger of radicalism, so that national eugenics may soon see only the germ cell and race, but no longer the soul as the foundational principle of body and spirit. If the barriers to sterilization are once broken, the path to legitimizing eugenic abortion is not far (compare the decision of the Canton of Vaud of November 17, 1931, on the eugenic indication for abortion, whose legal admissibility is entrusted to the health council). Moreover, the effect of sterilization could be an unrestrained pursuit of pleasure beyond good and evil, with the consequence of increased venereal diseases.

7. Marriage must not be considered solely from the perspective of preserving the race. Biological necessity must be addressed with morally permissible means. The state does not have the tasks of a breeding institute and therefore also not the right to fulfill population policy tasks with means contrary to natural law (bodily harm), as the same purpose can be achieved through other moral means.

8. Surgically performed sterilization must not be judged in its moral significance based on the inherently relatively harmless procedure, completed in a few minutes ¹⁶⁹, which does not impair the treated person's ability to work. The possibility of restoring fertility through a reverse operation exists, though practical success cannot be guaranteed.

¹⁶⁹ G. Hausen-H. Hoenninghaus, *The Technique of Sterilization and Castration*, Ferdinand Hirt Publishing House, Stuttgart 1934, and Georg Heinrich Schneider, *Outline of Mongoloid Degeneration*, E. Harger Publishing House, Berlin 1931; Hermann Muckermann, *Volkstum, State, and Nation from a Eugenic Perspective*, Hagen 1933; Eugen Schmitz, *The Modern Eugenic Endeavors*, Tyrolia Publishing House, Innsbruck-Vienna 1934; Hermann Muckermann, *Eugenics*, F. Gummert Publishing House, Berlin 1934; *Mind and People*, 7th edition, 1934.

Sterilization of women is, moreover, not entirely without significance, even though, according to medical opinions, this is not a particularly difficult operation. The psychological consequences of such a procedure are harder to assess, as the operation is naturally performed on individuals who are not entirely mentally healthy.

9. More important than state interventions in the most personal areas of human life is the transformation of the modern worldview, characterized by a naturalistic sexual morality and an ever-stronger deviation from centuries-old notions about the purpose of marriage and family life. Here, it would be the duty of university professors to make the young generation of doctors more responsible again.

10. Racial-hygienic marriage bans alone, without a simultaneous prohibition of extramarital sexual relations, will yield no results, quite apart from the fact that they are a severe infringement on personal freedom, which cannot be easily justified by the alleged benefit of improving the race's health.

11. The most important means is a eugenic-pastoral education of young people for marriage, to achieve a re-Christianization of the German family in accordance with biological and moral natural laws.

3.7. Nation and Nationality — National Political Endeavors for the Unity of Germans in the European Space ¹⁷⁰

Together with the concept of race, the notions of nation and nationality form the essential foundations of the National Socialist worldview. All other ideas and programmatic demands trace back to these concepts, finding in them their justification and deepening, while also appearing as their self-evident conclusions, such that one can rightly speak of a dogmatic system of National Socialism. Here, too, the often-established fact in intellectual history repeats itself: ideas are frequently already present for decades and the subject of serious debates before they reach their culmination in a personality or intellectual movement. Thus, it was entirely natural that at the beginning of the 19th century, the concepts of nation and nationality became the subject of in-depth investigations by philosophers and poets; this seems all the more self-evident in our days, after Oswald Spengler, through his “discovery” of the supposed decline process and the dissolution of the synthetic forces of our culture, delivered a hopeless diagnosis for the future. To halt this decline of emancipation from God and fellow humans and the detachment from all responsibility, and to curb the mechanization of human society in marriage, family, science, and economy, many today see only one path: the reconstruction of the concepts of nation and nationality, which indeed possess a community-binding force to prevent the ongoing individualization. The gradual formation of the concepts of nation and nationality in the past has occurred in waves. All major movements (Romanticism, liberalism, democracy) have coined their own expression of the national idea with a particular ideal of constitutional

¹⁷⁰ Ignaz Seipel, *Nation and State*, Wilhelm Braumüller Publishing House, Vienna 1917; Karl Braumias, *National Thought and State Formation in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, J. C. Mohr Publishing House, Tübingen 1934; Walter Pembaur, *Nationalism and Ethics*, Wilhelm Braumüller Publishing House, Vienna 1935; Bruno K. Jahn, *Meaning and Morality of Nationalism, Attempt at a Reason-Based Justification*, Cotta Publishing House, Stuttgart 1934 (advocacy); Paul Kluckhohn, *The Idea of the People in the Writings of the German Movement*, Junker & Dünnhaupt Publishing House, Berlin 1935.

law. The so-called German Movement, which revolves around these concepts, counts representatives in the Enlightenment, the Sturm und Drang period, Romanticism, the idealism of the historical schools, as well as individual figures (Ludwig Jahn, partially Goethe) who cannot be classified into a specific category. Thus, the struggle over the concepts of nation and nationality has seen many twists and turns, with highs and lows. Only gradually do both concepts become increasingly distinct from the daily struggle, seeking to become the philosophical foundation of political movements. Ernst Moritz Arndt's ideas ¹⁷¹ remain quite unclear despite all attempts to demonstrate his leadership role toward the Third Reich through a skillful analysis of his writings. A large part of his texts, with their pathos-laden language, has become unpalatable for the sober era in which we live, as we miss the clarity of conceptual formation in his work. Manifold difficulties also arise when attempting to assign Fichte a proper place in the development of the idea of nationality. Some find parallels to National Socialism almost everywhere in his writings. Fichte is seen as the great, German-believing, and national educator par excellence, whose basic demands (idea of awakening, unification of the nation from its tribes) lead directly into the world of National Socialism ¹⁷². Others, for whom the wish is not the father of thought even in scholarly work, are more cautious, including his biographer Reinhold Schneider ¹⁷³, who, despite his admiration for Fichte, does not overlook the manifold fluctuations in

¹⁷¹ Hans Stern, Ernst M. Arndt, the Eternal German, Eugen Diederichs Publishing House, Jena 1930; Paul Bequart, People and State (selection from Arndt's works), Kirchener Publishing House, Leipzig 1934.

¹⁷² Ernst Bergmann, Fichte and National Socialism.

¹⁷³ Fichte, The Path of the Nation, Georg Müller Publishing House, Munich 1931, and Xavier Léon, one of the most prominent Fichte researchers of recent times. Cf. his works: Fichte et son temps, Armand Colin Publishing House, Paris 1922–1924, and La philosophie de Fichte dans ses rapports avec la conscience contemporaine, Alcan Publishing House, Paris.

Fichte's views on Germanness, nor his uncertain stance toward Christianity, where we can identify significant commonalities between Fichte and Nietzsche. While, according to the ideas of the French Revolution, the nation is merely the community of free citizens who obey the laws they have given themselves for reasons of politics and reason, Herder had already grounded the nation as a multiplication of families and tribes—modernly speaking, racially-biologically—as something natural and fateful for humanity. These ideas were taken up by German Romanticism and expanded to mean that the foundations of nationality must be racially and blood-based, so that the basis of the state cannot be something historically contingent, a cosmopolitanism, but rather the species-conscious national nationality. Since Herder's emergence ¹⁷⁴, whose ideas were only popularized by Arndt and Fichte, the German idea of nationality has stood in competition with the French nation-state idea, and its immense influence on the far-reaching state world of the Slavic East proves that this concept possesses great political power to disrupt an old world. From German Idealism—Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel—emerged, in contrast to the Christian-Roman imperial idea, the notion of the “Holy Empire of the Germans” as the “people par excellence.” Thus, it became the seedbed for later German constitutional conceptions and an ethical idealism (heroic, blood-based worldview). In particular, German Romanticism must be designated as the movement that contributed incomparably more than the era of Classicism to preparing the foundations of the national movement and the general conceptual formation of nation and nationality. Men from all German tribes and both confessions have, since Romanticism, which holds the greatest merit for the national awakening of the German people, developed the leading concepts of nation and nationality without, however, understandably imposing the racial-blood basis as a condition, even though

¹⁷⁴ Rudolf H. Steinmetz, *German National Socialism. An appreciation from the Netherlands*, Martin Warneck Publishing House, Berlin; Arnold Gehlen, *Germanness and Christianity in Fichte*, Junker & Dünnhaupt Publishing House, Berlin 1935.

similar ideas often seem to shimmer through their writings. Especially for the 19th century, the following figures should be mentioned ¹⁷⁵: Friedrich von Schlegel (“Philosophical Lectures,” “Romantic Fragments”), the Catholic political theorist Adam Müller, Franz von Baader, Joseph von Görres, Franz Ritter von Buß, Adolf Kolping, von Tadomi, Friedrich Pilgrim, Wilhelm von Ketteler, Franz Hitze. By this time, the historical school of law (Puchta, Savigny) no longer ignored the national idea in economics (Friedrich List) ¹⁷⁶ and constitutional law. Increasingly clear becomes the notion of the nation as the community of people striving for their own state for the sake of sovereignty. People of the same linguistic and cultural community form the concept of the nation, whereby landscape, religion, and history everywhere create a unique genius. Numerous differences separate the Reich German from the Reich Austrian, German Swiss, and diaspora Germans. The same nation has its own distinct face in every spiritual space in which it can develop. Given this multitude of individual expressions of the same spirit, it is difficult to say in which part the nation has found its exemplary, guiding form for all. History, religion, and geographical space can each exert such strong influence that even the main characteristic of the nation, the consciousness of a shared destiny, is pushed back (Holland, Flanders, Swiss-Reich Germany). Every nation has

¹⁷⁵ Paul Kluckhohn, *The Idea of the People in the Writings of the German Movement*, Junker & Dünnhaupt Publishing House, 1934; Emil Ritter, *Catholic-Conservative Heritage. A selection for the present. With a foreword by Abbot Theobald Herzog, O.S.B.*, Herder Publishing House, Freiburg i. Br. 1934; Jakob Hommes, *Life and Education Philosophy as a National and Catholic Task*, Herder Publishing House, Freiburg i. Br. 1933; Alois Dempf, *Görres Speaks to Our Time. The thinker and his work*, Herder Publishing House, Freiburg i. Br. 1933; Caras Borodziejewycz, *German Spirit and Catholicism in the 19th Century. Presented through the development of Konstantin von Höfler*. Anton Pustet Publishing House, Salzburg-Leipzig 1935.

¹⁷⁶ Friedrich Lenz, *Friedrich List, the Man and the Work*, Oldenbourg Publishing House, Munich-Berlin 1936.

its nationality, but the concepts of nation and people are not identical. While the former goes deeper and is based on a certain soul-community, the people is often merely a political concept. One can speak of an Austrian and Swiss people, but hardly of such a nation. The Austrian is the German in the Austrian cultural space. While in the pre-war period the concepts of nation and nationality increasingly emerged from scholarly and political debates, after the war, strong personalities, through reflection on the conservative forces of history, carried the ideas of nation and nationality into wider circles. In Moeller van den Bruck and Othmar Spann ¹⁷⁷, the human appears, in the sense of Aristotle's ancient conception, as valuable only insofar as they live and create in the community. National Socialism thus had a vast amount of material on the questions of nation and nationality at its disposal when it went a step further and brought both concepts into the closest essential connection with those of race and blood, whereas for Spann, nationality represents a spiritual assimilation of people without racial conditions, appearing as a state-organized entity in a common settlement area. Spann also grants the supranational Church precedence over the national church organization, as the state ranks only after religion, in which it has its spiritual prerequisite. In contrast, the National Socialist youth leadership organ writes ¹⁷⁸:

“In the blood-bound nationality, the racial soul is reflected, which we cannot tangibly depict but whose creative action we sense and intuit in great personalities.

Thus, from the racial soul arises the nationality, which, in its manifold grandeur, is the bearer of this personality and grows beyond itself into those great cultural spheres that have been the sole bearers of humanity's progress and development in this world. Cultural spheres, however, are determined solely by races and racial souls.

¹⁷⁷ Othmar Spann, *On the Essence of Volkstum*, 1922; *Doctrine of Categories*, 1924; *Social Theory*, 1923. Cf. also Alfred Kirchhoff, *What is National?*, p. 102.

¹⁷⁸ *Will and Power*, Issue 15, 1933: Ludiger, *The Tasks of the New Fighter*.

Thus, we have discovered a new creative law that, in its cycle, encompasses the entirety of life. With this view, we stand in sharp contrast to those universalistic views that dominated our people for centuries and have once again found a vibrant center of our existence, giving us the possibility to build a worldview as sublime and magnificent as has never been seen before.”

Similarly, Hantoulf von Hagbängen expresses ¹⁷⁹:

“While fascism sees the state and nationality as its ultimate goal, so to speak, as its telos, National Socialism, under the influence of the folkish idea, consciously emphasizes something higher alongside it: the race.”

Thus, National Socialism fundamentally differs from fascism, which remains rooted in the ancient Roman concept of the nation ¹⁸⁰ and therefore retains the liberal standpoint of respecting foreign national minority nationalities and foreign cultural values: “People and territory are the nation, realized in the state as a legal form.” From a National Socialist perspective, only the presence of specific racial characteristics constitutes the concept of the people, in other words: a state authority has the right to demand respect and protection only if it corresponds to the interests of the nationality. All these conceptual definitions have been brought together in their boldest form into a philosophy of the Third Reich by Hermann Schwarz ¹⁸¹, in whose work, alongside the concepts of nation and

¹⁷⁹ The Coming German Revolution. Germany’s Renewal, 1933, Issue 8, pp. 450–460.

¹⁸⁰ Prof. Bortolotto (the significant state theorist of fascism) in his work *Fascism and Nation*, translated into German by Bürgeler, Hanseatic Publishing House, Hamburg 1932.

¹⁸¹ *National Socialist Worldview*, two essays from the years 1919 to 1923, and *On the Philosophical Foundation of National Socialism*. Published in the *Publications of the German Academy for Politics*. I. *Essence and Form of National Socialism*, Issue 17, Junker & Dünnhaupt Publishing House, Berlin 1930.

nationality, all others (including religious ones) are merely of secondary rank. In the nation, a “divine life that sanctifies humanity” reveals itself. As with Fichte, according to Schwarz’s conception, a divine life stream flows from the nationality to the individual, so that service to the people holds a moral obligation of the highest rank. Schwarz rejects any form of Christianity as unsuitable for capturing the values of nationality and fatherland experience. Those who think in terms of the latter two need no sanctification from religious spheres but sanctify themselves. People, nation, and fatherland are always sacred, and there is nothing higher.

No one will find truth in Schwarz’s ideas, which seek to elevate National Socialism into an idealist view of life, much less what the Greek Classics understood by philosophy. Neither the groundbreaking analyses of the concept of community by Ferdinand Tönnies nor the value philosophy of Max Scheler—to say nothing of the similar expositions by Thomas Aquinas—find appreciation or enhancement in this self-satisfied handling of the concepts of nation and nationality.

The question “What is a nation?” which Ernest Renan sought to answer in 1882 with the famous phrase “L’existence d’une nation est un plébiscite de tous les jours,” cannot be answered with the concepts of race and blood, both of which themselves have not yet received a clear scientific definition. The main question remains open: How does that spiritual, soulful unity come about that constitutes the essence of a nation and a people? A racial and folk soul, which hovers over the individual members and “expresses” itself in them, could be assumed but cannot be comprehensibly explained by anyone ¹⁸². What is the hierarchical order of

“Besides Rosenberg’s Mythos-Philosophy, as the center of the National Socialist worldview, and besides Bäumler’s Philosophy of Heroic Realism, his Philosophy of God’s Essence in Volkstum must be named as an essential exponent of National Socialist intellectual heritage.” (Paul Junker in the National Socialist Monthly, 57, 1938, p. 1140: God’s Essence in Volkstum.)

¹⁸² Kurt Stavenhagen, *The Essence of the Nation*, Hans Robert Engelmann Publishing House, Berlin 1934.

religion and nationality? Pembaur, who emphasizes the soulful-spiritual nature of these concepts more strongly, departs from the path of National Socialism when he writes ¹⁸³, “a formation of our relationship to the national whole we cannot expect from religious views.” In contrast, faith asserts that it is part of the essence of Christianity that, in the moral world order, the religious retains primacy. It is further a natural consequence of the biological overvaluation of the Nordic racial characteristic when Stapel, who strongly influenced National Socialism through his religious-cultural-philosophical ideas, writes ¹⁸⁴: “Just as there is no equality of people in reality, there is also no such equality of nations... If the Polish nation were placed on the same level as the German, that would not be just but absurd. The lesser values must always yield to the higher. Otherwise, life is not possible. Human community is not naturally structured for equality. The bearer of the new imperialism can only be the German nation... There must be: the Empire. Where it is not granted to us, it must be conquered. For we are not equal to the others, but we are Germans.”

The exaggeration of the racially-biologically conceived idea of nationality has been carried so far by some that they even advocate a

¹⁸³ MA. (P.), p. 172.

¹⁸⁴ *The Christian Statesman, a Theology of National Socialism*, p. 246 ff., Hanseatic Publishing House, Hamburg 1932.

complete deconfessionalization ¹⁸⁵ of all life, especially of national customs, because the expressions of the German folk soul have been “covered” by Christianity. Customs must therefore be sorted according to their own and alien (Christian) components and removed from the influence of the Church to create a German folklore on a racial basis; for Christianity has never been a “folk religion” among the Germans!

Many theorists of the National Socialist concept of nationality hope that its realization in Europe’s political life will also usher in a new worldview, a supranational peace order, and a new law of peoples, speaking

¹⁸⁵ Matthias Ziegler, *Ecclesiastical or Religious Volkstum?*, National Socialist Monthly, 65, 1935, pp. 678 ff.; Leader organ of the National Socialist Youth, Will and Power, Issue 19, 1935; Hasso Hahrter, *Denominationalization of Customs*.

“Recently, Reich Minister Dr. Frick in Münster demanded the denominationalization of all public life.

This demand must, above all, be applied to those expressions of the people’s soul that, as an expression of blood and worldview, determine the content and form of our folk festivals and our traditional celebrations in the life of the people, in the course of the year, or in the course of human life: the folk customs.

Certainly, when we speak of folk customs, it must be clear from the outset that in their current form, we no longer have the pure heritage of our ancestors before us, but that over the centuries, many falsifications and changes have been made.

The demand for a separation of our customs into those inherent to our kind and those foreign to it will therefore become ever more necessary, and with it, the demand for the liberation of our traditional customs from the influence of the Church.”

of a European national idea. The right of self-determination of peoples, based on the idea of nationality, is thus also “worldview-justified” ¹⁸⁶:

“Only when the nations have reflected on themselves, as the German nation has done, ... only when the other nations that have not yet done so work toward the same goals, then a great goal will be achieved: then world peace will be secured.

The feared German dynamism is not aimlessly directed into the void. It ignites in the realization of the self-determination right of German folk comrades and catches fire of its own accord when the folk-German idea comes into its own.”

The Austrian problem is also present here, though unnamed, as an imaginary perspective point toward which all lines converge.

The further development of the racially-biologically conceived concept of the nation leads to the political demand for belonging to the collective German nationality, which is also scientifically underpinned ¹⁸⁷. The mechanistic nation-state concept of the West, Prussia, and Bismarck is replaced by an organic principle of state formation: the nationality.

Programmatically, Hitler’s words ¹⁸⁸, which place the salvation and future of the nation in the closedness of its own nationality, are also adopted as the first point in the work goal of National Socialism ¹⁸⁹; further,

¹⁸⁶ Hans Heller, *The Third Europe*, Batschari Publishing House, Zurich-Paris-Berlin 1934.

¹⁸⁷ *What the Book Says About German Volkstum. Essence — Living Space — Destiny*. Edited by Paul Gaug. J. M. Brockhaus Publishing House, Leipzig 1935.

¹⁸⁸ *Mein Kampf*, pp. 305–308, 459. Eckart Weinreich, *The Nation as a Living Community*, pp. 72–88, 108, Lehmann Publishing House, Munich 1933.

¹⁸⁹ Gottfried Feder, *The Program of the NSDAP*, p. 19.

the ideas of the leading National Socialist educator Ernst Krieck ¹⁹⁰, in whose educational work National Socialism appears as a freedom movement driven by folkish-racial elemental forces. National Socialism is thereby elevated to another realm, one that no German political party has ever claimed. It appears in these writings as the biologically natural movement for the unity of Germans scattered in the European space. Thus, Reieck speaks of a “racial-folk-political anthropology”—a bold combination of various contents and concepts ¹⁹¹.

All these philosophical innovations suffer primarily from the lack of clarity in their foundational concepts, for the words “race, nationality, blood, and nation,” laden with the emotions of an unpredictable political activism, form a conceptual dictionary that has not yet been scrutinized.

Even if the harsh reality of historical life dismantles some of these goals or postpones them to a distant future, there are forces in the idea itself that cannot fail to impact the youth in particular. Race and nationality are elevated through the leading National Socialist literature to sacred concepts to which everything else must serve.

The national political endeavors for the unity of all Germans in Europe thus form the subject of close observation by leading National Socialist circles. This program point is considered non-negotiable and could only be postponed for reasons of prudence and statecraft. The unification of the Germans remains the unshakable final goal of National Socialism. The aspiring German youth, whose vague longing in Europe is directed toward a new worldview of unified style because it believes in the divine logos in historical development, will not abandon this idea until another

¹⁹⁰ National Political Education, pp. 33–48, Armanen Publishing House 1933, and National Socialist Education. Founded on the Philosophy of Education. Publishing Bookstore A. W. Zickfeldt, Osterwieck am Harz, 1938.

¹⁹¹ Historical-Political Anthropology, Vol. I, Armanen Publishing House, Frankfurt am Main 1936.

greater idea could displace it ¹⁹². Something similar, incidentally, underlies the Italian myth of fascism with its claim to the universality of Rome (CAUR), which is also evident in the geographical-political maps on the Via dell'Impero in the Eternal City.

However, in this fateful question of the unification of all Germans, which in recent years has brought so much spiritual turmoil into families, correct and premature claims stand side by side, as some so greatly exaggerate the biological-racial concept of the nation that, according to their view, only National Socialist states could ensure peace in Europe. On the other hand, the enthusiasm for the small-German-Prussian state ideal, which, with some modifications, prevailed until the end of the Hohenzollern Empire, glorifies Prussia as the champion of this idea, while the House of Habsburg is fought with a passion reserved for things that are not yet dead but carry living values within them. No objective historian, no matter how nationally minded, can deny the merits of this dynasty in purely German matters, once they place the Habsburg Empire in the broader context of history and focus not on the German state but on the German nation as the centerpiece of their consideration. One could not demand an exclusively German state policy in a multi-ethnic state where Germans constituted a relatively small percentage without liquidating the meaning of a multi-ethnic monarchy. Never, by the way, did German influence extend so deeply into Eastern and Southern Europe (German bureaucracy, German administrative language, military command language), and never were so many national resettlements in favor of Germanism undertaken as under Maria Theresa and Joseph II (Transylvania, Banat Swabians). Admittedly, Bismarck's policy in 1866 severed this German current in Austria. Thus, the old monarchy was hitherto the most successful unification of the spatially united ethnic fragments and small peoples of East-Central Europe under German cultural leadership. Whoever frees themselves from the distortions and prejudices

¹⁹² Hans Hübner, *On the Meaning of the Present. A Book on German Mission*. 2nd edition. Wilhelm Braumüller Publishing House, Vienna 1933.

that so many political historians of centuries have been guilty of will, in the spirit of Srbik ¹⁹³, whose recent work with Meinecke's *Cosmopolitanism and Nation-State* ushers in a new chapter in our historical understanding, have to approach the question of why people, space, empire, and state have not yet become a unity for the Germans and why German history, so rich in heroism and greatness, also contains so much tragedy and depth until 1800 and up to the present day, more so than the history of other great cultural peoples.

In any case, German-Austrian identity, shaped by the supranational imperial idea and constant contact with Slavic, Hungarian, and Romance nationalities, through tribes, territorial destiny, and Catholic cultural ideals, has remained a unity of political structure that in many respects is closer to the South German than to the North German, a special type of German essence, without the German-Austrian being regarded as entirely different in blood from the North German. While Frederick II of Prussia carried no German cultural consciousness within him, despite shaping millions of German people, in Austria, despite ethnic mixing, the sense of belonging to the empire, especially in the literary and scientific spheres, has always remained vibrant despite all obstacles.

The question of the unification of Germans in Europe would therefore, in itself, be merely a political problem, which, as long as the means to achieve this goal do not conflict with ethics, must be resolved and judged by political considerations, the same standards that applied to similar endeavors by Italians, Poles, and North and South Slavs. States are historically formed and subject to change. As a purely political problem, the question of a reorganization of Europe from folkish perspectives does not initially belong before the forum of the Christian worldview, provided the aforementioned precautions are observed, as a violent solution is ruled out. There has never been a static state in ethnic politics, least of all in the European space, and no one will permanently reject political, national ideas that assert themselves in history for the duration of their goal's clarity

¹⁹³ *German Unity*, J. Bruckmann Publishing House, Munich 1936, 2 volumes.

unless they can oppose them with other, even greater, and more viable ideas. The state treaty between Germany and Austria of July 11, 1936, which establishes Austria's significance as the second German state, resolves the contentious relationship between the two German states in a way that satisfies both sides for the further development of a shared endeavor for German nationality. The natural center of mutual interests in all areas of life naturally binds the German people of both states, though Austria's cultural interests, particularly the treatment of Catholicism, must by no means be overlooked. Thus, the development of the Austrian question in recent years has created the impression among those familiar with the situation that the ecclesiastical Rome, the Vatican, is the strong counterpole to the German unification idea. However, this is a coincidental convergence, as the annexation question, apart from foreign policy considerations, has primarily been transformed for Austria's Catholics into a problem of religious conscience through the non-religious, ideological influence of various writers in the National Socialist program. Had National Socialist cultural policy taken different paths, the entire question would have developed fundamentally differently. A contradiction on religious grounds might never have been raised so strongly, although confessional statistics were already of decisive importance for Bismarck's policy toward Austria in the Peace of Nikolsburg.

Precisely when speaking of the unity of Germans in Europe, a peculiar statement by Treitschke, the pioneer of National Socialism in the historical field, should be cited here. Although a "nationalist," he remarkably places religious and worldview questions at the forefront in the matter of the unification of Germany and Austria ¹⁹⁴:

"Never have so many warm and honest wishes for Austria's continued existence been exchanged in recent weeks as in the conference rooms of the German Reichstag... Today, even the combined strength of a unified Germany would have to expend long, decades-heavy, and perhaps

¹⁹⁴ Prussian Yearbooks (Treitschke issue), 1934 (contains excerpts from his daily political views 1806 to 1870).

fruitless labor on this soil if we were to encounter the sad legacy of the Habsburgs here. We already have more than enough ultramontane enemies of the empire; we will keep them in check; but our empire is only a Protestant state because Protestants predominate in it. The collapse of Austria, however, would be a historically unprecedented catastrophe that threatens to entangle us in incalculable wars.

We Germans have never understood the nationality principle in the crude and exaggerated sense that all Europeans of German tongue must belong to our state. We consider it a blessing for the peaceful intercourse of the continent that the borders of nations are not carved into the earth's crust as if with a knife; that millions of French live outside France, millions of Germans outside the German Empire..., the firm foundation of our current power, the creative ideas of the new German politics were solidified by the blessed year 1806. Away from Austria! That was our battle cry then. As if freed from a rib, Germany's chest breathed freely when we separated from Austria. Every new day of German history since then proves that this separation was a necessity, that only through it were we returned to ourselves. Should we now, in reckless greed, throw the structure of 1866, the foundations of our empire, back into ruin?... In sober Berlin, the notion that the natural capital of the Danube lands should become a German provincial town is laughed off as a utopia."

Particularly in the question of the unification of all Germans in Europe, as these statements by Treitschke best demonstrate, it appears as a great misfortune and a harmful fact of German history—Luther's church struggle in Wittenberg ¹⁹⁵; therefore, the attempt to present him as a national hero must be rejected from the perspective of a German history that thinks not in decades but in centuries. Just as Herder first inspired the national conception through Hutten, he also first pointed to Luther's ethnic solidarity to celebrate his rejection of Rome as a national act. This national appreciation has never entirely disappeared from the Luther image (something similar can be seen in the Hus veneration of the Czechs) and

¹⁹⁵ Cf. the judgments by Ignaz von Döllinger and Janssen.

experiences a particular emphasis in our days in National Socialism. National Socialist writers recall Fichte and Arndt, who already glorified Luther as a national hero, and rely primarily on Chamberlain, who openly declared in his book *Foundations of the 19th Century*: "Luther is first and foremost a political hero. Love of the fatherland was his absolute, divine scholarship his conditional, in which he never fully shed the monk's cowl. His weak point was theology." This scientifically contested view of Luther's personality was adopted by Rosenberg in his *Myth of the 20th Century*. Yet Erasmus of Rotterdam saw the church schism as the greatest blow to Germandom itself, the avoidance of which would have spared Germany the Thirty Years' War. While England, France, and Spain could devote themselves to the tasks of culture and art, entering a golden age, Germany was turned into a desert. When Goethe and Schiller emerged, the great tradition in German nationality was not only interrupted but destroyed. Only the rebuilding through Romanticism reclaimed Germandom for its own folkish culture. Protestantism and the later necessary counter-reaction, the Counter-Reformation, divided people and empire into two camps, weakened the emperors, culturally completely separated the German principalities, tore Germany into the great struggles of confessionally divided Europe, and, at a time of great global political decisions, rendered the German people incapable of the then-relevant task of the world empire idea.

German history of the 17th and 18th centuries, in particular, proves that the Reformation of the 16th century, often declared as quintessentially German, turned into a misfortune for our people. Unity would have been achieved long ago, the religious struggles of the 17th century would never have occurred, which set North Germany back centuries from a flourishing Catholic culture without putting anything complete or equivalent in its place. It is not difficult to prove that with the 15th and even more with the 16th century, the decline of universal German thought and the concepts of nation and nationality began.

Fundamental Points from a Christian Perspective on the Question of Nation and Nationality ¹⁹⁶

1. The biological interpretation of the concept of nationality, which is not identical to race but is primarily conditioned by language, shared history, and living space, does not in itself contradict Christianity, even though the two foundations of blood and race have not yet found sufficient scientific explanation, as long as a primacy of nationality over the Christian worldview is not demanded and the focus of human and national life is not exclusively shifted to the here and now. In Christianity, the division of humanity into nations and races is regarded as a secondary phenomenon that cannot negate the unity of the human race.

2. The concepts of nation and nationality, which contain great values, must, according to Christian teaching, take their place in the general hierarchy of life values. Nationality carries true but not the highest life values. Its spiritual content is not self-contained. It harbors no ultimate goal and cannot fulfill our soul. Nationality struggles and wavers, transforms and reshapes itself constantly, like the searching human who belongs to it. Nationality is never the ultimate fulfillment of humanity unless it receives its purification and consecration through Christianity. The national idea must therefore be refined by the Christian one and clarified in its demands to avoid ending in racial self-worship.

No nation encompasses all values, and therefore none can claim primacy to assume leadership in Europe (contra Stapel). All require moral purification through the Christian ethos.

3. The national idea and pride in one's own nationality need, to avoid ending in a convulsive self-worship and narrowing the view of broader human problems, a complement through the virtue of humility, which is not weakness but truth—namely, strict self-examination and reflection on one's own flaws and weaknesses, to, instructed by the great

¹⁹⁶ The Protestant perspective is presented in the book: *The Nation Before God, On the Mission of the Church in the Third Reich*. Edited by Bishop Dr. Runne and Prof. Dr. Helmut Schreiner, 3rd edition, Wichern Publishing House, Berlin.

mother and educator of peoples, the Catholic World Church, bring national distinctiveness to precious development. Even in the German character, alongside splendid qualities, lie great weaknesses that require mitigation or complementation from other national spheres: a strong tendency toward individualism, subjectivity, a certain one-sidedness, exclusivity, and brusqueness in asserting an adopted standpoint. All this requires a strong formative element to avoid dissipating and dissolving.

4. True nationality is, in the long run, impossible without religion. A separation of the two spheres is an error, as both essentially belong together. Therefore, the complete deconfessionalization of folkish customs must be rejected as an attack on both nationality and Christianity by anyone who, in the sense of the National Socialist program, Article 24, believes that a positive Christianity should remain the foundation of the national community.

5. Wherever religion and nation appear to be in conflict, the solution, if it does not concern morally indifferent, purely political questions, must be drawn from the religious, meaning that commitment to nationality finds no restriction in the recognition of a divine world order.

Religion and nationality, according to the Christian conception, align so harmoniously with the order of creation that contradictions between the two can only be apparent. The providentially believing person must be convinced that the creation plan corresponds to the divine purpose. If, therefore, humanity is realized in different peoples and races, this must, for the believing person, be regarded as an expression of divine will. This idea is entirely compatible with the notion that natural talents are distributed differently among peoples, and thus there are peoples called to particularly great achievements. Contradictions can only arise if either the religious side underestimates and questions the natural or if the national side asserts that nationality encompasses the entirety of values, excluding religious values, or, in other words, that all values are merely functions of nationality and that there is no spiritual world transcending nature. Neither exaggeration can be justified by the principles of religion or the necessities of nationality.

6. Since the struggle for national existence and self-determination and for reclaiming a place in the sun in nationality and state brings profound transformations and is almost impossible without tensions and conflicts, it is the duty of the Christian and nationally minded citizen to work toward a balance of both interest spheres in the sense of natural law and Christian moral law, whose obligations no national community can escape.

7. In the totality of nationality, there is no longer an unpolitical person. The normal type of citizen becomes the “political person.” Here, too, there is initially no contradiction with Christianity, as long as the primary normative and guiding element for human action can remain Christianity.

8. Since Christianity, by its origin and essence as revealed divine word, transcends all folkish and racial conditions, any exaggeration of nationality must be rejected, as must any worldview determined solely by the idea of race and nationality. State, people, and race also stand under God’s word. Here, too, the same conclusion arises as was already noted in the discussion of the race problem: that the National Socialist concept of nationality, whether correct or not in detail, poses a danger to Christianity only in the case of its radicalization and extension into the realm of religious culture.

9. German nationality and Catholic faith have, over the centuries, become inseparably intertwined. Whoever disputes this shows insufficient understanding of the facts of German intellectual and cultural history. National thinking and Catholic conviction are therefore far from irreconcilable opposites. Unadulterated examples from the past provide evidence of this. It may suffice to point to a few particularly significant figures:

The Rhinelander Joseph Görres decisively helped prepare the intellectual and spiritual ground for the liberation struggle against Napoleon.

In the midst of the liberal era, champions for the preservation of German nationality, a civic education rooted in homeland and people, and

the renewal of German culture were the Rhenish priest Anton Heinen and the convert priest Julius Langbehn, the Brandenburg German. In an unparalleled way, the South German Joseph Nadler depicted the inner richness and intellectual achievements of the German tribes. The unlocking of the deep treasures resting in old German sagas, legends, and epic poetry was the work of the Viennese Richard von Kralik. The first collection of old German folk songs (*Des Knaben Wunderhorn*) we owe to the Rhenish Franconian Clemens Brentano.

The first national History of the Germans, which, according to the judgment of the Protestant historian Johannes Haller, truly deserves this name, was written by the Catholic priest Michael Ignaz Schmidt (†1794), whose statue stands in the Munich Hall of Fame.

Who became one of the greatest benefactors of diaspora Germandom through the founding of the first German School Association, the predecessor of today's People's League for Germandom Abroad? — The South Tyrolean priest Franz Xaver Ritterer. Who created the first association for the scientific study and practical cultivation of the deep values of German nationality? The Bavarian curate Christian Frank — and it would not be difficult to continue this list into the present and also to commemorate the leading activities of so many German Catholics abroad, who have not only engaged in religious-pastoral work but also developed far-reaching, culturally national activities for the benefit of the entire German nationality, all this decades before there was any organized German diaspora work.

3.8. State Idea and Leadership Principle — Law, Power, and Morality —
Roman and German Law — The Political Order Idea ¹⁹⁷

While the Marxist theory of the state is primarily based on Rousseau's philosophy, the foundation of National Socialism is German philosophy, although, to a certain extent, Rousseau's naturalism forms a connecting link between the two worldviews, as both, albeit not to the same degree, share the denial of original sin and the belief in the absolute goodness of human nature. However, whereas Marxism, emerging from the liberal thought world of the French Revolution, is entirely alien and even hostile to the ideas of nationality and race, both constitute essential foundations of the National Socialist conception of state, law, and justice. Up to a certain point, as the previous section has shown, these are undoubtedly viable elements, whose dangerous zone only begins when they are extended into the religious sphere and shaped into an independent moral culture in the sense of naturalism. The latter would mean the collapse of Christianity and a return to a national totalitarian worldview, which the ancient culture did not know to this extent.

Five fundamental pillars of German legal formation, corresponding to these new life laws of the nation, can be identified in the renewal work in the field of National Socialist law: soil, race, state, honor, and labor. The written and unwritten constitutional principles that dominate and shape all of life, some of which are already laid down in a series of state

¹⁹⁷ Hans Frank, *National Socialist Handbook for Law and Legislation*, 2nd edition, Franz Eher Successor Publishing House, Munich 1936 (fundamental for the transformation of German legal life in the Third Reich).

Cf. also the specialist journal *German Legal Practice*, Organ of the Association of National Socialist German Jurists, 1930, and the *Journal of the Academy for German Law*.

fundamental laws—criminal, family, and marriage law still await corresponding amendments—are the following¹⁹⁸:

1. The National Socialist worldview is the ideological foundation of legislation and thus of the organization of the German Reich. “The National Socialist idea has its organizational anchor in the party.” (Hitler)

2. The Reich is the legally ordered and politically formed people. The nation is the content and substance of the Reich. It is the object of all order. The people, created by God, as the enduring and living entity, is the sole purpose of all human action and all state institutions.

3. The Reich is a socialist state: the common good precedes self-interest. What benefits the national community is law; what harms it is unlawful.

4. The Reich is a folkish state: blood and soil are the ever-renewing life source of the German people. The purity and preservation of German blood are the prerequisite for the German people and Reich. Only a German or related person can co-determine the fate and future of the German people.

5. The Reich is a leadership state: party, people, and Reich are led and administered according to the leadership principle. Leadership is earned through performance that convinces the following.

6. The Reich is a people’s state: the foundation of the Reich and its leadership is the trust and loyalty relationship of the following to the leader.

7. The Reich is a unitary state: there is only one Reich state authority and one Reich sovereignty; there are only German state nationals and Reich citizens.

8. The Reich is a one-party state: “The party represents the political conscience, the political conviction, and the political will of the nation.” (Hitler) It is tasked with setting the great goals in all areas of life and

¹⁹⁸ Political Observer, special issue for the anniversary of the seizure of power, January 30, 1936. (Treatise by Wilhelm Stuckart on the special constitution of the Third Reich and the new state principles.)

aligning public life with folkish duties. The leader is the party, and the party is the leader. The party is the ultimate overseeing and deciding instance.

9. The party has the task in its organization to gather, promote, and assign to the state the elements of the nation capable of political leadership, for its leadership and as its following. "It must thereby uphold the principle that all Germans are to be ideologically shaped into National Socialists, that the best National Socialists become party comrades, and that the best party comrades take over the leadership of the state." (Hitler) Above all, it is tasked with providing the German state with the highest and general leadership.

10. The leader of the party is simultaneously the supreme head of the Reich and the supreme commander of the armed forces.

11. Party and armed forces are the two supporting, indissolubly linked pillars of people and Reich. "The party gives the army the people, and the people give the army the soldiers, but together they thereby give the German Reich the security of internal peace and the strength for its assertion." (Hitler)

These fundamental ideas of the National Socialist conception of law must, once consistently thought through and implemented in life, lead to an entirely different attitude in international law as well. The decisive political axiom that the national community is the foundation of all cultural, intellectual, and political development necessitates, alongside the commitment to one's own national community, the recognition of foreign national groups. While the 19th-century conception of international law proclaimed the undisputed primacy of the state and recognized only the state's people, the National Socialist folkish and international law theory demands that, even where a national group splintered from the mother people is incorporated into a foreign state structure, the fundamental international law recognition of this national group be granted in the legal form of cultural autonomy, as any other so-called "minority rights" regulation based on the liberal-individualistic principle has, in practice, proven inadequate. National Socialism thus seeks a positive recognition of the differently structured national element and opposes the assimilation

theory with folkish cultural autonomy. It condemns any stronger denationalization as incompatible with the basic assumptions of the National Socialist conception of international law.

From this attitude toward the legally and culturally creative power of the national community arises the anti-imperialist basic stance of National Socialist international law thinking, in other words, National Socialism, based on its program, fundamentally has no interest in incorporating foreign national groups or internally dissolving individuals through denationalization.

The foundations of these state-legal views of National Socialism trace back not only to Hegel's state-philosophical system and his successors but ultimately to the following fundamental dogmas, which, in turn, arise with necessity from the doctrine of race: "The essence of law is racially conditioned."¹⁹⁹ The essential content of German law must therefore consist of provisions that preserve racial heritage. Law is not an autonomous domain but reflects the political and economic struggle of the people. The individual must integrate into the "we" of the people, into the "socialism of blood." The freedom of the individual is socially bound; their political essence arises only from their folkish foundation. State and freedom are inseparable concepts. There is political freedom only in and for the state, not from the state. While ancient Germanic law restricted individual freedom in favor of clan and family, here it occurs in the interest of the state, in which the source of law is the racially determined folkish spirit.

According to the National Socialist conception of law, the people as the original community takes precedence, not the state. The state is legitimized by the people, not vice versa. This results in a series of decisive consequences. The concepts of honor and loyalty, duty to the community,

¹⁹⁹ Walther Merkt, *On the Becoming and Essence of German Law*, Hermann Beyer Publishing House, Langensalza 1934; Boellreuther, *The German Leader State*, 1934, and Knubben, *The National Socialist Leader and Totalitarian State in Its Relation to the Weimar Fundamental Rights and Individual Human Rights*, *Saxon and Prussian Administrative Journal*, 1934, pp. 773 ff.

and public security must be interpreted in the National Socialist sense, so that a shift in thinking is to occur in legal life as well ²⁰⁰. Here, too, it is immediately apparent that National Socialism aims to be a unified whole. While some representatives still teach a new international law built on the foundation of race ²⁰¹, others reject international law altogether ²⁰², as law, being a racially bound phenomenon, collapses into the state itself. The following statements by leading figures are indicative:

Adolf Hitler ²⁰³:

a) The state is not an end in itself but a means to unleash the forces slumbering in the race.

“The fundamental realization is... that the state does not represent an end but a means. It is indeed the prerequisite for the formation of a higher human culture, but not its cause. The latter lies exclusively in the existence of a race capable of culture.”

“When speaking of a higher mission of the state, one must never forget that the higher mission essentially lies in the nationality, to which the state, through the organic power of its existence, must only enable free development.”

b) The folkish state places the race at the center of general life.

²⁰⁰ Dr. Aulse, Racial Hygiene and Law, Lecture held at the hereditary-biological-racial hygiene course for psychiatrists in Vienna, February 10, 1934.

²⁰¹ Cf. the treatise by Prof. G. A. Walz, Breslau, National Socialism and International Law, in the journal International Law and Folk Law, December issue 1934.

²⁰² Paul Krannhals, The Organic Worldview, Vol. I, pp. 157–224: “A general international law that stands above the life law of states we must reject not only as impractical but also as a moral utopia. As a life form and moral personality, the state entity is its own purpose, accountable only to its own conscience.”

²⁰³ Mein Kampf, pp. 437–438, 467.

“Whoever sees a mission of the German people on earth must know that it can only consist in the formation of a state that sees its highest task in the preservation and promotion of the unviolated noblest components of our nationality, indeed of all humanity.”

“...A folkish state will thus first and foremost have to lift marriage from the level of a permanent racial disgrace to grant it the consecration of that institution called to produce noble images of the Lord.”

Helmut Nicolai ²⁰⁴:

c) The relationship of the state and the Reich to law.

“Legally valid is that state authority which acts in accordance with the idea of law, which upholds the law and handles it as corresponds to the eternal, legally valid idea of law.”

“The source of customary law is the legal conscience of the people, the folkish spirit, which receives its specific expression from racial predisposition.”

“The fight against racial disgrace is the most important task of legal policy... Marriage bans are required between different peoples, but not between similar ones, thus not between Germanic peoples.”

On the occasion of the founding of the Academy for German Law on October 1, 1933, the leader of the German Legal Front, Minister Dr. Frank, could declare: “The struggle today is less directed against the remnants of objective Roman law than against the spirit created through centuries of engagement with Roman law.

We believe in the Nordic past as a future possibility and now wage the struggle not only on the legal level against foreign law but in the entire intellectual sphere by introducing the concept of race.

German law will in the future be racial law. The Academy for German Law has the task of realizing this law of the German race with all emphasis in every form.”

²⁰⁴ The Racial-Legal Doctrine of Law, pp. 37–47, 44–48, National Socialist Library and The State in the National Socialist Worldview, 1933. The author was later rejected by the Party, but not because of his state-legal views.

In many respects, Carl Schmitt ²⁰⁵ can be seen as the actual intellectual pioneer, to whom a series of such formulations can be traced. All these ideas make the concept of race the fundamental question of law, state, and community, so that the essential task of German law must become the preservation of racial purity.

A further necessity would be the formation of a distinct National Socialist legal philosophy to underpin this new legal science. However, since legal theory appears to be thought only in racial-legal terms, legal history would also have to be grounded on racial foundations. This introduction of the race concept into the German legal system is also deliberately expressed, as the League of National Socialist German Jurists decided in December 1934 to establish closer cooperation with Rosenberg's National Socialist Cultural Community. Further National Socialist ideas on state and law include:

“Law in the community era is monistic, meaning its foundations are race and nationality; in the individualistic state, however, law has a dualistic character and derives its content on the one hand from the spirit of the legal community (= the respective ideological foundation of the state entity in question), and on the other hand, this content of law is determined within the private law order by the will of the contracting parties, in the state by the bearer of state authority, without there being a specific unified foundation for the meaning of law.”

²⁰⁵ Especially his writing on *The Types of Legal Thinking*, National Socialism and Legal State, another work *The Concept of the Political*, Junker & Humblot Publishing House, Munich, shows not insignificant differences in the assessment of the Russian category in the two editions of 1932/33. Cf. also *Publications of the Academy for German Law*, edited by the President of the Academy for German Law, Reich Justice Commissioner Dr. Hans Frank, Hanseatic Publishing House, Hamburg, printed in 12/13 of the *Juristische Wochenschrift* of 1934.

Here, significant differences emerge compared to the state-political ideas of the criminal law theorist Anselm von Feuerbach ²⁰⁶, although various elements from his criminal law theory, particularly casuistry, the separation of morality and law, and the liberation of criminal law from the sphere of religious-moral valuations, have been adopted into National Socialist literature. Feuerbach's principle "nulla poena sine lege," meaning the protection of the citizen against attacks by state authority, is in any case rejected. Much of what is particularly emphasized by National Socialist jurists today is not entirely new. Reform efforts for a new German criminal law were already on the agenda in Germany some time before the seizure of power. For example, in 1929, a graduated penal system was introduced to perfect the individualized treatment of prisoners. National Socialism draws on all these ideas and endeavors to radically transform the entire German legal life, inevitably leading to various contrasts with the previous European legal science. (Cf. the draft penal code, already known to the public in its essential provisions.)

The starting point of all these reforms is the new state idea, which, in conscious opposition to the absolutist state concept, as a mass of subjects, and the liberal one, as the totality of individuals, conceives the state as the living embodiment of the racially conditioned national community. According to the state law scholar Freigler, law presents itself "as the sum of the demands of the folkish conscience on the people and its members with the aim of securing the folkish right to life."

A self-evident consequence is the extension of criminal law into areas previously regulated exclusively by civil law. (These include labor law, where criminal law provisions are to give greater force to state measures for maintaining labor peace.) With such far-reaching interventions by state authority and such a multifaceted application of penal measures, this can only fulfill its purpose if the state is capable of breaking any form of resistance. This has fundamentally changed the character of punishment. It

²⁰⁶ Gustav Hadruch, Paul Johann Anselm Feuerbach, Julius Springer Publishing House, Vienna 1934.

no longer expiates the criminal act but aims at neutralizing or even destroying the perpetrator. The new German criminal law is thus, according to Dr. Freigler's formulation, a "perpetrator criminal law" instead of the earlier "act criminal law." Closely related to this is that it is simultaneously an "intention criminal law," as it was called by the Reich Justice Minister, and as such obliterates the distinction between a successfully committed or merely attempted act. The retribution and deterrence theory dominates the entire criminal law and is particularly evident in the penal system. However, the predominant influence of the demand for honor had to result in the pursuit of seamless punishability. The National Socialist legislator believes it addresses this by introducing analogy as an additional legal remedy for judicial decision-making through the amendments of August 26 for the Penal Code and Criminal Procedure. That this constituted a "revolution in criminal law" was already noted by the president of the Academy for German Law, Dr. Frank, upon its publication in the National Socialist Party Correspondence. The introduction of analogy has set aside the principle considered universally valid for criminal law, enshrined in § 2 of the German Penal Code: "nullum crimen sine lege"—"no crime without law"—by the demand "no crime without punishment." The earlier provision was regarded as an achievement of the modern criminal law school to set limits to judicial arbitrariness in the interest of legal certainty. According to the new provision, a perpetrator is punished not only when the law declares the act punishable but also when they deserve punishment according to the fundamental idea of a penal law and "according to healthy folkish sentiment."

To the objection that introducing such an immeasurable and variable factor into legal administration could create uncertainty, the Reich Justice Minister sought to counter in his speech at the Criminal Law Congress by invoking the uniformity of the National Socialist worldview and its understanding by the judge. However, his statements cannot dispel the observation that judicial decision-making, by loosening its tie to the law, has lost a support and has not yet found sufficient supplementation through the concept of healthy folkish sentiment. In place of statutory law,

customary law steps in, and the distinction between public and private law is significantly blurred.

Law is defined as what Aryan men deem to be law, because law signifies nothing abstract but the creation of a specific blood, that of the racially and ideologically bound racial community of the German people and its worldview. It is a self-evident further consequence of this common blood-based and ideological foundation that, just as there is no internationality of true art, there can be no such thing for law. True law can only be folkish and species-appropriate if it is to be an expression of the shaping folkish forces and nationality.

Already in radical tones, the following ideas of individual National Socialist writers resonate: “Power precedes law. What is moral is what benefits the state, the party, or the nation. The judicial verdict must be drawn from folkish and racial sentiment. Force decides the fate of peoples and states. Statecraft must be beyond good and evil if it is to succeed. The Christian doctrine of patience, love, and forgiveness brings about the downfall of peoples. Catholic nations are said to have fallen back culturally and in terms of power politics. But where, as in Italy, a political upsurge is evident, its foundations are no longer derived from Christianity but from Machiavelli’s state philosophy.”

When carefully examining these ideas about state and law, one soon notices that they are characterized by a wavering between revolutionism and conservatism, making it understandable to question whether National Socialism and the rule of law are opposing concepts that exclude each other²⁰⁷. Even the official theorist of Italian fascism, Sergio Panunzio, described the fascist state as a “revolutionary-conservative” entity.

Where do these conceptions of state, law, and leadership originate, which must inevitably lead to a complete revolutionization of the sense of law if they were to be introduced in all European states? Undoubtedly, they

²⁰⁷ Noteworthy is the following writing: Gunther Krauß and Otto von Schweinichen, *Disputation on the Legal State. With an introduction and an afterword by Carl Schmitt*. Hanseatic Publishing House, Hamburg 1935.

are the immediate reaction to a degenerate democracy that caused the decay of all state authority and statehood, a pathological party system that shattered the German people after the World War. They are further the practical effect of legal positivism ²⁰⁸, which repeatedly resurfaces in the state conceptions of Nietzsche and Treitschke and denies any natural law. Particularly through the denial of natural law, the floodgates for arbitrary state legislation were already opened before the World War. In a world that limits the concept of law to the interests of one's own country and people, everything ends in the boundless and in conceptions that must lose all form and measure. Moreover, modern people, not least through German philosophy and the religious dissolution of Protestantism, have lost any firm criterion of truth, so they cling to anything that still seems solid to them. However, into this strong emphasis on the law-forming power of the community also resonate the conceptions of the ancient Greeks, who are experiencing a political renaissance in our days. Aristotle established the principle: "Above the individual stands the community as the goal and the whole." The absolute dominance of the state over the private is the first and particularly distinctive feature of Attic culture. In Athens, the concepts of human and citizen began to fully merge. What seems so strange in the philosophy and especially in the ethical teachings of Plato and Aristotle—the equation of individual person and citizen—springs from the general thinking of Athens. The human exists in the first instance for the

²⁰⁸ Rudolf Laun, *Religion and Morality*, Springer Publishing House, Berlin 1935, rejects the idea of an "abstract, universally valid moral law" and declares state legislation autonomous. Law and morality are one and the same. In contrast, the no less convoluted Spanish legal scholar Quintiliano Saldaña, Madrid, reaches the following conclusions: "There is no law, i.e., the concept of law, as such. There is no law, but laws. It is impossible to deny the empirically given fact of a natural law in the conscience." Publishing House for Political Science and History, Berlin 1938.

state, not only, as is self-evident, to sacrifice goods and blood in times of danger, but their sole activity is, in fact, for the state ²⁰⁹.

This complete absorption of the Athenian human in the state was accompanied by not insignificant downsides of the Athenian state. That someone could withdraw from public life or remain neutral in political struggles—something a law of Solon prohibited—was unthinkable. Thus, the individual was torn from their natural soil, alienated from clan and kinship ties and any non-state bonds, to be exclusively integrated into purely state organizations. How strongly this ancient state theory influences the modern conception of the state! ²¹⁰ To this revival of ancient state theories adds the German legal and state philosophy of the present ²¹¹. It would therefore not suffice to simply anachronistically transfer modern concepts onto ancient texts, as important as it is to draw this connecting line from the present to the past of Greece.

This brief overview of Greek state history provides us with an understanding of the development toward the modern leadership state:

²⁰⁹ Cf. Prof. Gotwald, *Culture of Antiquity*, Athenaion Publishing House, Potsdam 1935.

²¹⁰ Gunther, *Plato as Guardian of Life*, Munich 1928.

²¹¹ Karl Carenz, *Legal and State Philosophy of the Present*, Junker & Dünnhaupt Publishing House, Berlin 1936; further the collective work *Legal Idea and State Thought*, Edition for Julius Binder, Junker & Dünnhaupt Publishing House, Berlin 1934, especially Vol. II; Franz W. Jerusalem, Jena, in his new book *The State, a Contribution to State Theory*, Gustav Fischer Publishing House, Jena 1936, seeks to newly ground state-legal basic concepts from the recognition of their sociological significance for the different state types: I. The Community State (1. The Germanic Folk State; 2. The Retinue State). II. The Individualistic State (1. The Corporate State; 2. The Sovereign Princely State). III. The State of National Representation (1. The French State after the Revolution; 2. The Constitutional State in Germany). IV. The State of the People's Community (Germany since the National Socialist Revolution).

State forms in history are characterized by the opposition between individualism and collectivism. At the beginning stands the communal state; from its dissolution arises the individualistic state; Rousseau's teaching marks the turning point at which the counter-movement begins; the leadership state brings the liberation from individualism. All historical developments in Germany point toward it. Its goal is the elimination of all individualistic tendencies from the formation of state-legal concepts.

The consequences of the state-philosophical ideas described in the foregoing are: the rejection of Roman law, to be replaced by a German common law, the totality of the state concept, the leadership principle with follower loyalty ²¹², and the formation of a political elite in an order-like life. Thus, it naturally follows, even if not immediately intended, a totality of culture and worldview, an absolutization in the tendency of the nation, which is inherent to every collectivist worldview. In other words, National Socialism is only at the beginning of realizing its program, whereby the final goal is not yet clearly discernible, but the certainty exists that fundamental conflicts between Christianity and a state formed from these National Socialist legal ideas cannot be avoided, in order to then create a tragic basis for reconciliation between the two.

What we are experiencing today are only preliminary skirmishes, perhaps one could say the clearing of the battlefield from the intellectual obstacles that a religion, sometimes drawn too strongly into the political, has left behind from a sunken epoch of the German people.

Since the totalitarian state will be discussed further, a few remarks should be made regarding the other state-philosophical conclusions ²¹³.

²¹² Eckart Weinreich, *The Role of the Leader, Germany's Renewal*, 1932, Issue 3, pp. 134-141: "The retinue is the leader as the highest human, the myth is the leader as a god."

²¹³ Otto Boellreuther, *People and State in the Worldview of National Socialism*, Pamphlet Publishing House, Berlin-Charlottenburg 1935.

The rejection of Roman law in favor of a German common law ²¹⁴ is, in itself, so to speak, an internal political matter that has nothing to do with Christianity. What would need to be rejected in this regard is the emotional stance that deems Roman law inherently inferior to the German sense of law. The same overvaluation affects the assessment of German medieval jurisprudence, especially Eike von Repgow ²¹⁵, the author of the *Sachsenspiegel*, who is elevated to break the staff over Roman law without the necessary scientific foundation; unfortunately, this tactic is also not infrequently applied when it comes to highlighting the Nordic perspective in legal thinking against the Roman one. We will not deal here with the question of whether so-called Nordic perspectives were originally decisive in Roman law, only later displaced by international influences. (The *ius gentium* gains significance, foreigners receive the *ius connubii*—lifting folkish marriage restrictions. Noble families are no longer protected, equalization of patricians and plebeians.)

We also do not deny that the influence of Roman law, in the form transmitted to Germany through the law schools of Bologna and Padua, became disastrous for the later development of German intellectual life in many respects. Perhaps the transfer of foreign legal conceptions also contributed to the consequences of the Reformation, particularly the freedom movements of the Peasants' Wars of the 16th century, in Germany. Without delving into details here, which would need to be drawn from the works of Oering (*Spirit of Roman Law*) and Schulze ²¹⁶, it can be said with

²¹⁴ Program of National Socialism, Point 19: "We demand the replacement of Roman law, which serves the materialistic world order, with a German common law."

²¹⁵ How much room is given to fantasy is shown by the book by Walter Schlichtenberg, *Ivo of Chartres and His Time*, August Hopfer Publishing House, Burg near Magdeburg 1934.

²¹⁶ *Principles of Roman Law*, Duncker & Humblot Publishing House, Munich 1934.

utmost clarity that it would be a mistake to underestimate the value of Roman law, which it gained through its reception for German legal life and which will exist to some extent as long as there is a legal life. No one provided a better definition of law than the Roman: *jus est ars boni et aequi* (law is the art of the good and the just), no one left such a masterpiece of philosophy and logic in legal theory as Rome, and no one coined the law of *bona fides*—the principle of good faith—so early. It should not be denied that this law was indeed “pagan” with egoistic conceptions of property, treatment of slaves, etc. Undoubtedly, the reception of Roman law in Germany, justified by its perfection compared to native law, brought some influences that are incompatible with Germanic thinking (cf. inheritance law in the German *Sachsenspiegel*). However, the influence of Roman law in Germany is overestimated. Entire regions and areas (mining law, copyright law, German private law, craftsmen, and peasantry) remained entirely untouched by Roman legal thought, or it was reshaped by German glossators and contemporary legal practice (*usus modernus*), so that in many parts of Germany, with the introduction of the “General Land Law” (1794), it soon had only subsidiary validity. The Reichstag draft for the German Civil Code already stated in a memorandum of 1896 that, since the reception of Roman law in the High Middle Ages, through the hundreds of states and cities of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, the “Germanic folk laws,” as first codified in Eike von Repgow’s *Sachsenspiegel*, retained strong influence. However, through codifications at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries, a regression from legal unity to legal particularism (Bavarian and Prussian Land Law) occurred, without thereby creating a folkish German law that, in its own rhythm, reflects that of the German nation. In this sense, the endeavor to move from the individualism of Roman law to a stronger emphasis on social communal law (village law, labor and tenancy law, cooperative system, private law) can only be welcomed. However, to avoid any exaggeration, Schlegelberger’s words should be heeded: “Not everything Germanic is therefore good for us, and not everything Roman is therefore bad.” Many supporting ideas of Roman law cannot be entirely abandoned even by a modern state system,

and the fact that Roman law, on its journey through European history, has repeatedly found grateful veneration and emulation or opposition and rejection is itself the best proof of the greatness of its historical phenomenon. Many supposed essential contrasts between Roman and German legal conceptions dissolve quickly upon careful examination of the relevant passages ²¹⁷. Above all, the claim that Roman law has been consistently rejected by the German people to this day is refuted by four centuries of history. The reception of Roman law was not something forced but arose naturally from the specific conditions in Germany from the 13th to the 15th centuries (fragmentation of the Holy Roman Empire, lack of a corresponding legal collection, consequences of the particularism of princes and tribes) and was inevitable because the rural ancient Germanic law lagged behind the emerging needs of an urban culture and, in the long run, would have meant a cultural burden for Germany. In any case, it is a misconception to attribute the reception form of Roman law in Germany to “legalism,” in other words, to Catholicism. On the contrary, the propagandists of Roman law against the Land Laws in Germany were primarily Protestant or anti-clerical humanist thinkers, such as Machiavelli, Grotius, and Montesquieu, who all advanced the secularization of scholastic thinking in northern Europe. The Code Napoléon, which, in line with the principles of its time, “overcame” any inner connection with ecclesiastical legal thinking, built on them and undoubtedly had a significant influence on German legal life. Moreover, the Pandects (texts of the Corpus Iuris Civilis) were no longer used in German legal practice before the creation of the Civil Code of 1896 and, already 90 years before National Socialism, formed only a special field of legal history.

²¹⁷ German law is subjective, Roman law objective (Adolf Schmidt, Kahn), the former is a social law and a law of legal rules (Wegemann, Görres), the former is a tender law, Roman law harder, more rigid, soberer, and more individualistic (Der Memminger Deutsche), the former is a peasant law, the latter that of the city (Brunner, Hugelmann).

A particular role is also attributed to the leadership principle ²¹⁸ in the National Socialist state idea. Together with the totality of the state, this concept forms the main problem of theoretical politics in Europe. It is hardly necessary to emphasize here that the form of state leadership is something purely historical, which comes and passes. Therefore, it is not the task of religion to determine the form. Christianity is possible and conceivable in any form of state leadership, as long as the fundamental demands of natural law and freedom of conscience are not undermined. From the perspective of the history of ideas, the leadership principle is the bankruptcy declaration of modern democracy, the relapse into antiquity, and the admission of humanity that, with the disappearance of the Christian sensibility from world politics, it has become rudderless and, in its aimlessness, has found at least a substitute in the strong personalities of culture. We encounter the same phenomenon at the end of the Roman Empire, where only individual personalities with iron will and unyielding strength could, if not prevent, at least delay the collapse of a cultural epoch by a few centuries. It is the rule of strong individual personalities foretold by Spengler, in which Nietzsche's state philosophy has become reality. The dynamic processes and formations of human grouping in the course of history—from the sacral, aristocratic, and monarchical state to the leadership principle in close connection with the entire world and life view of the period—only prove that in declining cultural epochs, the leadership principle repeatedly emerges from history, often to save a nation, but sometimes, when it oversteps its competences, to end in a tyranny cast in legal forms (Russian tsarism) ²¹⁹. For a leadership principle in modern times

²¹⁸ *Essence and Content of the Political Constitution*. By Professor Dr. Huber. In the series *The German State of the Present* edited by State Councilor Karl Schmitt (published by the Hanseatic Publishing House, Hamburg), Issue 16.

²¹⁹ Cf. Richard Thurnwald's new book: *Becoming, Change, and Formation of State and Culture in the Light of Folk Research*, Walter de Gruyter Publishing House, Berlin 1936; the fourth volume of his large-scale work *Human Society in Its Ethno-Sociological Foundations*; further R. A. Hinge, *Ideas for a Philosophy*

to endure longer, it must seek its foundation in the establishment of a new culture or worldview, from which this state-political system emerges as an organic phenomenon, both as a prerequisite and as a crowning conclusion. In other words, any leadership principle that seeks to endure in history and not merely be a transient phenomenon inevitably pushes toward a certain cultural state totality.

An important complement and deepening is received by the leadership principle, which places primacy not in the state but in politics, through the political order idea ²²⁰, namely in the form of a new “nobility,” that is, a politically elite human material that has received special training to then exercise actual leadership in the state. Under the influence of racial-biological thought, but also fertilized by conservative national literature from the pre-war period, National Socialism, much like fascism, arrived at the question of this new nobility. The doctrine of a political elite is not of German origin but traces back to Vilfredo Pareto (Lausanne). In fact, there are already forms of an order-like state: Russia and Italy. The structure of the Russian tsarist system signifies a complete departure from Western formal democracy. The tsarist system is a pyramidal structure from the grassroots cell to the state apex through indirect elections. This bottom-up structure meets from above the unifying and overseeing state will, in which the secret state police (Cheka) plays a special role, often stronger than that of the party. This state will, unlike in Italy, where the highest fascist authority determines the final electoral list, expresses itself in the form of communist terror, which begins in the primary election cell. This remains effective in the subsequent higher elections and ensures a

of Leadership, in the Rudolf Stammeler Jubilee Publication, Publishing House for Political Science and History, Berlin 1936.

²²⁰ Cf. the speech by SS Reich Leader Heinrich Himmler at the Reich Peasant Day in Goslar 1936 on the order of Nordic-determined men (men’s association on a racial basis), partially published in the weekly *Das Schwarze Korps*, 38th issue.

gradual “purification” of the tsar from non-communist elements. Russia thus theoretically has a perfected tsarist democracy, but in practice, the dictatorship of an order-like party.

The fundamental ideas of the National Socialist order idea, a new nobility from blood and soil ²²¹, which cannot be understood as a secularized Catholicism or a copy of the Catholic order idea based on a romantic misunderstanding of the German knightly orders and their goals ²²², nor as a derivative of Russian ideas, were clearly articulated by Rosenberg in his Marienburg order speech and consistently linked with the worldview he preached.

“When we admire in the principle of the Germanic duke and his following the ever-recurring phenomenon of a great figure in German history, when we recognize in the order principle, in the Senate principle, the firm spiritual foundation for the durability of a state system, then we must draw the conclusions for the 20th century that this form must be borne by a worldview that bids farewell to the bloodless Enlightenment and returns to the fundamental principle that the political leaders of the National Socialist order, and thus also of the German Reich, are eternally bound to the soil and supported by the blood of their nationality, so that ever new generations arise and are integrated from youth into the structures of the National Socialist movement, so that instinct, formative, goal-oriented will, and rational principles also find their realization in

²²¹ R. Walther Darré, *Nobility Renewal or New Nobility?*, National Socialist Monthly, 1933, Issue 17, pp. 337–347: “Germany needs a new leadership class. The generations whose members have proven themselves as leaders shall form the new nobility.” Further, the same in the writing: *New Nobility from Blood and Soil*, pp. 9–13. J. G. Lehmann Publishing House, Munich 1936: “The essential content of the genuine German concept of nobility in the Germanic sense is consciously directed leadership based on selected hereditary qualities.” “We must call a genuine nobility for our people back into life.”

²²² Gustavo Sundlach, *The Order in the Political Space*, *Stimmen der Zeit*, March issue 1935.

living personalities, in the broadest possible leadership and sub-leadership layer of the German people.”

These ideas are also clearly expressed in an essay by Klüger on Othmar Spann (Leader Organ of the Hitler Youth: “Line and Power,” Berlin, January 12, 1936):

“The political will springs from the leadership elite rooted in the national community. The party—or as we also say—the order commands the state and is the actual driving force and dynamic power of the entire state system. The state must be guided by the political. Hence, the estates of National Socialism have nothing to do with the estates of old. The mere reality of the estates formed so far proves this. Compare the structure of the Reich Chamber of Labor, the Reich Culture Chamber, and the German Labor Front with those hierarchical estates of the Middle Ages, and the fundamental difference will be clearly revealed. The estates of National Socialism mostly no longer resemble the medieval guilds. The actual medieval estates, such as the nobility, clergy, and bourgeoisie, which also had a political character, are dead and, despite Spann, will not be revived.”

Even the few questions addressed above regarding state and law show significant differences between National Socialism and fascist state theory²²³. For while both advocate common ideas in many areas, the concepts of race and nationality in this consistency are foreign to the Italian²²⁴, and the idea of totality is, at least politically, not as thoroughly implemented in Italy as would be possible according to the foundational books and writings of fascism, so that the position of the Church in Italy

²²³ Giuseppe de Verde, *The Doctrine of the State in New Italy* (Social and State Legal Theory), Junker & Dünnhaupt Publishing House, Berlin 1934. The final sections address: Fascist State and Catholic Church, Influences from East and West, The Fascist State Form.

²²⁴ Italy sees the state in the nation, France in the soil, England in society, Germany in blood, i.e., in common descent; cf. Alfred Rosenberg, *Crisis and Rebuilding of Europe*, Junker & Dünnhaupt Publishing House, Berlin (Publications of the German Academy for Politics, Issue 6).

can be described as relatively tolerable—a circumstance that indicates the possibility of cooperation even in this state-political system, despite the totalitarian form.

What was conclusively stated in the two preceding sections on race and nationality applies in part also to the entire state-political system of National Socialism. As long as the Christian worldview is not excluded from this state and legal structure through a purely this-worldly life design in the sense of Rousseau's naturalism, the believing Christian could, in many areas, align with various National Socialist state-legal conceptions without thereby encountering conflicts of conscience. When Hans Frank succinctly summarizes the National Socialist legal ideal in the words: Service to the German people, there is nothing to object to, as no contradiction to Christianity can arise. Many reforms are also entirely understandable to the unbiased observer, as German law has not without reason been criticized for being primarily a jurists' law and less a folkish law. However, such criticism applies only to specific details and not to the fundamental principle. No one will dispute that the abstract normativism, introduced into German legal thought through the reception of Roman law and the liberal constitutionalism of the 19th century, must be replaced by a concrete legal thought determined by a German communal order. The dangers here arise only from radicalization or from the revival of liberal ideas. It is telling that the proposals for reshaping German divorce law (mental cruelty as grounds for fault), based on the concept of race, exhibit far-reaching liberties compared to the corresponding marriage laws of liberal parties (cf. Article 42, para. 3, Swiss Civil Code). No less noteworthy is that the principle: "Law is what Aryan men deem to be law" (Rosenberg, *Mythos*, p. 736), literally taken from Nietzsche, *The Antichrist*, Vol. V, VIII, p. 58, was also adopted with skillful reinterpretation by Lenin (Preobrazhensky, *Morality and Class Norms*, p. 13, Hamburg 1923) for his state-political ideal. ("Everything that serves the Russian people is law; everything that harms it is unlawful.")

Fundamental Discussions on the Foregoing Questions ²²⁵:

1. The doctrine that only the community matters is a combative reversal of the individualistic life conception, but it cannot, in itself, create a new order relationship between the individual and the community; rather, it initially only restricts the personality. It overcomes “individualism” just as little as Marxism overcomes “liberalism,” because it is collectivist and must, as paradoxical as it sounds, end in a class individualism.

2. Law is not solely the racially conditioned knowledge of what is right but must find its justification in the human conscience, which is the same for all, because there are moral conceptions common to all peoples and races. There is natural law, the great Decalogue, against which the errors or differing conceptions of individual tribes or persons prove nothing. In other words, there are moral fundamental ideas common to all peoples, whose application to actual life may often be varied and difficult but does not alter their binding force. Positive law must derive its normative direction from natural law.

3. The state is not an end in itself but a means to an end. It is something historically formed and passes away historically. Therefore, the tasks of the state must not be so overstretched that ultimately every free movement of the personality is suppressed, because there are innate rights, and even the *bonum commune* (common good precedes self-interest) has its limits. How far these limits of state authority should extend and how much personal freedom should be accorded to the individual is decided by the state based on natural law and the Christian worldview. From this tension between spiritual freedom and autonomy of the personality and necessary state coercion, only one path emerges: compromise, because neither can

²²⁵ Karl Braumias, *The Fundamental and Labor Rights According to the Encyclicals of the Last Popes*, *Journal for Public Law*, XV, Issue 3, 1936; Kurt Schilling, *The State, Its Spiritual Foundations, Its Emergence, and Development*, Ernst Reinhardt Publishing House, Munich 1935. This attempt to philosophically ground the problem of “individual and state community” has not succeeded.

state authority be extended to all moral matters, nor can the state be completely detached from moral postulates ²²⁶.

For liberalism, the community is merely a sum of individuals without its own lawfulness; the state is an institution that grants the individual free development of their personality and otherwise burdens them as little as possible. This state doctrine is an overvaluation of the individual. The state concept of National Socialism, on the other hand, overvalues, if not fundamentally—since it intends to include the concept of the creative individual personality—but in the interpretation of various legal scholars, the community, and tears it out of the divinely given order of things. It asks: What use is the individual to the state? and determines the value of the human accordingly.

²²⁶ Cf. the writing: *Individual and Community in St. Thomas Aquinas*. By P. Edelbert Kurz, O.F.M., Koesel & Pustet Publishing House, Munich 1935.

What does Thomas Aquinas say to the burning controversy of our time: Individual or Community? Man for the state or the state for man? Kurz perhaps contradicts, out of deference to contemporary currents, all those who with Thomas's help want to find the teaching: "The community is only for the individual," and claims, by letting his standpoint be too much dictated by apologetic tendencies, that in this question, St. Thomas fully aligns with Aristotle: Above the individual stands the community as its goal and whole. Thomas did not improve Aristotle but completed him in the sense that "the individual is free vis-à-vis the state in matters where the state is no longer of the same kind as he," i.e., in matters of eternal salvation. "Whoever wants to see individualism in Thomas must arbitrarily limit the concept of community solely to the earthly community of the state." Only the eternal value of the individual soul stands above the duties toward the state community; otherwise, Thomas's word applies: *Bonum commune melius est et divinius bono unius, si utrumque in eodem genere*. The entire difficult question still requires thorough moral-theological investigations to refute the claim of some National Socialist writers that Christian ethics is based solely on an individualistic personality culture. Perhaps there is also an overly generalized equation of state and community.

This is understandable as a psychological reaction against the individualistic state conception when some theorists and legal scholars of the new movement formulated the doctrine of the totality of the state in a way that did not seem entirely just to the rights and dignity of the individual personality or to the essence of nationality. The clarification of these ideas is fortunately moving today in the direction that nationality is regarded as an organic, unfolding unity, as the root from which the state also emerges, and that the development of the individual personality is judged from the perspective of integrating their contribution into the overall culture of the nation. This perspective of judgment, which warns against overvaluing the individual, fully corresponds to the Christian sentiment, according to which the individual personality is only perfected by subordinating itself in service to a whole.

Thus, the Christian state conception stands between the two state-political systems, seeking to tread a golden middle path. It recognizes that the community is something new, something other than merely a sum of individuals. The individual being, however, exists before the community; ontologically, it is primary. The meaning and value of human life derive primarily from how and whether it is lived according to divine laws. The Christian worldview restores human and community to their natural order and thereby first reveals their true value, while the other two, in their tendency to overvalue either the individual or the community, actually relativize their value.

Against the claim that in modern humanity Christianity has already been so drained of its religious content that a state structure based on Christian substance is no longer possible, the possibility of a Christian politics as an ideal for a Christianized humanity must be fundamentally upheld.

4. The state has no immediate moral autonomy or inherent lawfulness but must draw its guidelines from natural law and the principles of moral ethics. Therefore, the ideal of Catholic politics is the constant adaptation of positive law to natural law to avoid ending in the boundless.

As much as the rejection of National Socialist state doctrine from individualism and its political expression in liberalism is to be welcomed, the danger inherent in such an upheaval must be pointed out: that the value of the community is overstretched at the expense of the individual's opportunities for self-realization, and the focus is shifted too strongly onto the folkish whole.

5. According to the Christian moral order, the state is also embedded in a higher moral order. The ultimate task of the Christian state is to help ensure that its members also achieve their final and truest goal: God. The state is not merely a bearer of power but a lawful form of life to establish the welfare of the entire community of its inhabitants, regardless of their religion, race, or nationality; only under this condition does the state, according to Hegel, represent "the realization of the moral idea." This demand on the state is primarily the achievement of the Christian cultural epoch; it rests, in contrast to the state concept of antiquity, on the insight into the equality of all humans before God and thus also on the recognition of a sphere of freedom for the individual within the state and society arising from religious relations. Ethically seen, Machiavelli's assertion that the state is only "power" is a conceptual impoverishment, because power as lawful authority should arise only through the binding of conscience.

6. State and nationality are not identical but distinct concepts. From the perspective of European peace, it might be better if Europe could be reorganized into nation-states, but the folkish map of Central Europe has been so entangled for centuries (cf. the conditions in the Danube region, Czechoslovakia) that a reorganization in the sense of the demand that people and state have the same borders is hardly possible without war. However, even apart from this, from a purely cultural perspective, the coexistence of several nations within the same state territory with the greatest mutual freedom would better correspond to the ideal.

It is more difficult to examine the question of whether the state stands above the nation ²²⁷. Since the state is something purely historical

²²⁷ Stapel, *National Civic Education*, Hanseatic Publishing House, Hamburg, 3rd edition.

and a human institution of governments, rulers, and peoples with constant fluctuations, nationality, as a naturally given entity, holds a higher rank. Thus, states with national minorities are obliged to grant cultural autonomy (pastoral care and education in the mother tongue), because this concerns a natural right whose elimination no power in the world can justify, regardless of the reasons given. This does not speak a word of irredentism but creates the necessary clarity for state obedience, which has limits in natural law.

7. State and Church can indeed stand neutrally opposite each other in the case of separation, which can be either benevolent or hostile to the Church. But the ideal of a Christianized people can only be the cooperation of both powers in compromise forms that reflect the fundamental order within the prism of contemporary history.

3.9. The Totalitarian State, Unity Culture, and Education ²²⁸

All racial, folkish, and state-legal conceptions of National Socialism culminate in the idea of the total state, in which they find their realization. This idea, the opposite of the political doctrines of the French Revolution, reaches back in its initial beginnings to decades, one could almost say a century, if one does not partly identify it already in the Greek antiquity. Hegel's legal and state philosophy ²²⁹ and that of his successors is becoming reality today, albeit manifoldly altered or reshaped. In any case, the classical theorist and state philosopher of this system was Hegel, whose thought processes significantly influenced fascism and National Socialism, as much as the former state conception denies this German influence in the system. These endeavors are further infused with the state doctrines of Baron vom Stein, Hegel's successors, the deification of state authority by the Jewish state law scholar Friedrich Julius Stahl, the state doctrines of legal positivists who admit no natural law, the circle around von Gleichen with its concepts of "genuine" state authority, and partly also the thought processes of Othmar Spann.

Jacob Burckhardt foresaw many years ago that the culture of "today's Europe" was coming to an end, prophesying a general transformation of state-political thought, as in the 3rd and 4th centuries, in which strong individual personalities, as bearers of a totalitarian conception, would exercise their power over the authority-less masses. The war exposed the hypocrisy of our humanity and the superficiality of humanization through

²²⁸ Walter Gehl, Berlin, *The National Socialist State, Foundations and Formation, Documents of the Build-Up, Speeches and Lectures Until November 12, 1933.*

²²⁹ From Günther Holstein and the Hegelian Karl Carenz, *a State Philosophy* appeared (as a special edition from the Handbook of Philosophy). Holstein covers antiquity, the Middle Ages, and Western Europe up to Rousseau, Carenz the legal and state philosophy of German idealism (Oldenbourg Publishing House, Munich 1935). Cf. *Hegel Today. A selection from Hegel's political thought world.* Felix Meiner Publishing House, Leipzig 1935.

culture and education. In place of the idealistic humanity that was still the belief of the previous century, earthly absolutes emerge (communist society, total state, distinctiveness, and race), which find their expression in myths and symbols of a new worldview claiming orthodoxy. Because the irreligious human can no longer give themselves value, they take refuge in national-racial and communist collectives or the authoritarian state, unless they are already content with the sporting technologization of life. One-sided interpretations of Christianity by Sverbeck, Welschke, and Burckhardt, which sought to see its fundamental character only in ascetic world-denial, have also contributed significantly. "A true Christianity could only assert itself if it withdrew again to its fundamental idea of suffering in this world." The spiritual unity that is the result of Christian humanity but is increasingly being lost is to be replaced, as long as no reawakening of Christian life forces sets in among the masses, by the authority of the total state ²³⁰. In place of the spiritual, religious unity steps the uniformity of organized human masses.

Many regard Carl Schmitt as the appointed interpreter of the total National Socialist state, who, however, sees the goal of the German revolution more in a corporate state with a certain autonomy of social life rights. The total state would only be a means to an end: a corporate state based on estates.

The relationship between Church and state in this totality is peculiarly formulated by the well-known writer Stapel ²³¹: "To the total state belongs everything concerning law and morality. To the Church belongs everything concerning the kingdom of heaven." In other words, in a

²³⁰ Ernst Kirchhoff, *The Total State*, Hanseatic Publishing House, Hamburg 1934, was the first legal scholar to describe the essence of a new German state entity in formulations that seem suitable perhaps only for the journal of a youth association, but not for a modern state entity.

²³¹ *The Church of Christ and the State of Hitler*, p. 88, Hanseatic Publishing House, Hamburg 1934.

totalitarian state, the state itself is not only law-forming but the ultimate norm of law and morality, so that in a conflict of duties between state and religious conception, the former would always take precedence!

Even clearer are Rosenberg's words in an article: "Total State" ²³²: "What... will unfold in a broader scope is not the so-called totality of the state, but the totality of the National Socialist movement. The state is no longer something that should stand alongside the people and the movement, but it should be a tool of the ruling National Socialist worldview.

It is therefore recommended for all National Socialists to no longer speak of the total state but of the unity (totality) of the National Socialist worldview and of the National Socialist state as the tool for securing the soul, spirit, and blood of National Socialism, as the epochal phenomenon that began in the 20th century."

No other matter follows with such inevitability from the race concept as precisely the demand for the totality of the state, which is ultimately the expression of a specific spiritual attitude. Nevertheless, a compromise solution or at least a *modus vivendi* could be found between Church and state here, if the political totalitarian form did not simultaneously represent the realization of an unconditionally secular totalitarian culture.

Kolbenheyer's warning ²³³ to the total state not to descend on cultural matters to the mechanical level of command is justified as soon as the leadership idea is recognized by it without reservations of natural law.

If the Middle Ages partly overstretched the Church concept and demanded an immediate rule of the Church over the state, the modern totalitarian state, from its perspective, commits the opposite. The dispute over the mediate or immediate authority of the Church in secular matters,

²³² Political Observer, January 9, 1934.

²³³ The Living Conditions of the Intellectually Creative and the New Germany, Gilbert Langen & Georg Müller Publishing House, Munich 1938.

which once brought so much unrest to humanity, seems to be reviving in light of some modern state theories. Just as there is no totality of the Church (cf. the conception of Glareanus, Pope Boniface VIII, Aegidius Romanus, de Maistre, Donoso Cortés ²³⁴, as opposed to Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, who designated state and Church as two politically coordinated societies), but only of God ²³⁵, so too can a totality of the state not be justified without, in the long run, falling into a host of difficulties and conflicts of conscience. For Germany, something else adds to this, which, even from the perspective of the National Socialist program, which reckons with religious confessions as historical facts, must provoke serious reflection. Every totalitarian state will inevitably be confessional or atheistic. The entire development of such a state pushes toward this. But where two confessions exist, as in Germany, the total state idea would inevitably tend toward a single confession to build a state or Reich Church upon it. However, no one in Germany can eliminate the historical fact of confessional division from one day to the next. The statesman must instead reckon with this fact for the further future.

Certain dangers of the totalitarian state, which by its nature is centralistic and absolutistic, remain for the religious conscience, but they diminish if religious ideas mitigate the state's claims toward the individual personality. The total state is, if its ideas are consistently realized, conceivable only in two forms: as the theocracy of the leadership principle or as a secular community with a new culture, in which the state becomes the Church, politics becomes sacral activity, citizenship becomes religion,

²³⁴ Thomas Michels, *The Priesthood of the Church*, p. 46, Anton Pustet Publishing House, Salzburg 1938: "It is in no way comprehensible that today attempts are again being made to separate the political and the ecclesiastical, and that there are Catholics who tacitly or explicitly approve of such an endeavor... Any politics that does not ultimately aim at the eternal is no politics that has a right to exist in the Christian order of salvation."

²³⁵ Heinrich von Srbik, *The State in the Catholic World of Thought*, Bonifatius Printing House Publishing, Paderborn 1938.

the people's assembly becomes divine service, the statesman becomes the priest, the people's leader becomes the saint. This tendency marks the end of Christianity and had its parallel in England, even if the religious churches continued to exist undisturbed. The danger of such a totalitarian state would be that the inner atheism does not even come to the consciousness of those affected, but rather continues to operate with the concepts of religion and Christianity ²³⁶. It is therefore a great error to believe that a political unity and a strong German state without a totalitarian culture ²³⁷ would not be possible in the long run. Precisely the fact that our German people are divided into two confessions calls for caution, so as not to paralyze or transform valuable forces of the nation into an undesired opposition in the zeal for the ideals of a new German era.

Totalitarian states naturally lead to the total education ²³⁸ of the young person. The political upheaval in Germany therefore affects no area—except for individual branches of legal and state sciences—as directly as the educational doctrine, because the new state proclaims a new human type and thus new principles and forms of education, which require a

²³⁶ This conceptual confusion also exists to some extent in certain circles of Fascism and the French Action, when words of the Christian religion are reinterpreted into the political (martyr, holy blood, trinity, mystical political forces); cf. the Fascist journal published in Milan.

²³⁷ Fascism, whose intellectual-historical roots emerge in the state philosophy of antiquity and the Italian Middle Ages, seeks to bring the ideas of the *stato corporativo*, authority and power thought, universalism, and totality into a tolerable tension with the doctrine of Christian state consciousness. Compare Adolf Menzel, *The State Idea of Fascism. A Study in Intellectual History*. Franz Deuticke Publishing House, Vienna-Leipzig 1936.

²³⁸ Hermann Nohl, *The Pedagogical Movement in Germany and Its Theory*, Gerhard Schulte-Bulmke Publishing House, Frankfurt am Main 1935 (highly regarded).

complete reorientation of previous pedagogical thinking. In this sense, Ernst Krieck says ²³⁹:

“The total state, as the expression of folkish unity and the organ of the national will, must necessarily be the supreme authority over education and schools, as well as over the entirety of culture, economy, and life orders. It determines the direction and goal of educational work, oversees adherence to the course, and sets the general level of achievement.”

Thus, some have already raised the demand for a national school with a national ethic. In this sense, even before National Socialism, the inner justification of religious confessional schools was contested by the Protestant Ernst Krieck ²⁴⁰ and, in contradiction to the Church, from the Catholic side by Ernst Michel ²⁴¹, Weismantel ²⁴², and the Keeslinghausen Academy Conference from December 28 to 30, 1923.

²³⁹ National Socialist Education, pp. 342–386.

²⁴⁰ Philosophy and Education, p. 150 ff., Friedrich Publishing House, Jena 1922; further Science, Worldview, High School Reform, Armanen Publishing House, Leipzig-Frankfurt am Main 1934, and National Socialist Education, Armanen Publishing House 1932.

²⁴¹ Rhein-Mainische Volkszeitung, 1926, No. 159, 290:

“The uncritical self-evidence with which today many Catholics almost demand the ‘advocacy for the Catholic school’ as a criterion of their Catholicism—which in practice exists as little as a ‘Catholic politics’—unfortunately raises the fear that even in leading school-political circles, one is not aware of the enlightened folk-political and religious responsibility, but assumes that if this school is confessionally secured, everything else will follow on its own.”

On the entire situation, cf. E. Przywara in Stimmen der Zeit, 113, 1928, p. 1 ff.: Where To?

²⁴² “The confessional school is impossible from a pedagogical, scientific, and psychological standpoint.” (Höfische Zeitung, 1928, No. 7 b.)

Here, too, close observation of recent developments teaches that this development in Europe and beyond can be called almost inevitable ²⁴³. The fascist school reform (Riforma Gentile) also reverted, through detours, to a liberal pedagogy when it declared religious instruction necessary for building the student's personality but rejected instruction in any specific confessionally bound religion as dangerous, "because the spirit is thereby fixed in an objective determination and hindered in its development." ²⁴⁴ In complete contradiction to the National Socialist program, Karl Schulz articulated the essence of such a German national school with the following words ²⁴⁵:

"For religious instruction in the usual sense, there will be little room in the German national school. We thereby align ourselves with Schleiermacher's ground, this recognized great German educator of moral personality ²⁴⁶. We will proceed in his sense and thereby serve German faith if, in the national school, we do not teach theology but awaken the feeling for religion." ²⁴⁷

²⁴³ Eberhard, *World Education Movement. Race and Counter-Race in the Folk Movement*, Berlin, Juthe Publishing House 1930.

²⁴⁴ Cf. Marga Rapp, *The Intellectual Foundations of the Fascist School Reform*, 4th issue of the series *Pedagogical-Scientific Investigations* edited by Prof. Broh and Luchtenberg, Meiner Publishing House, Leipzig.

²⁴⁵ Reichswart, *National Socialist Weekly*, 18th Year, No. 7, Berlin 1934.

²⁴⁶ This limitation of Schleiermacher corresponds in no way to the actual image of his thoroughly positive, dogmatically felt religiosity.

²⁴⁷ The demand for a new folk culture was also raised by Alfred Rosenberg in a lecture in the Mirror Hall of the Berlin Großoper on December 17, 1934, during the discussion of the Reich Office Leadership of the National Socialist Cultural Community with the leading personalities of the National Socialist formations and associations: "A struggle for the unity of the National Socialist worldview must be relentlessly continued. Our task is to slowly select and promote the

It would be tempting to view these educational endeavors of individual National Socialist pedagogues in connection with the modern secularization of schools, up to the promotion of an exclusively state-school ideology, in order to eliminate the Church's influence on schools and education. Wherever this exaggerated state-school idea has been realized, the secularization of schools has made the greatest strides. What Jules Ferry began in France in 1882 is continued today by Russia and Turkey (Law of April 30, 1928), turning the school into an exclusive tool of state propaganda ²⁴⁸. In East Asian countries (China, since 1928, with the cult of the national saint statesman Sun Yat-sen) and in South American countries, the displacement of religious influence has begun to achieve a national education. While fascism elevated Catholicism to the state religion and incorporated its educational program into national education, justifying it as the religion suited to the Italian genius, this process will not occur without difficulties in the National Socialist totalitarian state, as the folkish and racial elements are presented as supreme values. Thus, the educational right of the Church and the state's absolute claim in the field of youth education stand in opposition.

According to the papal encyclical *Divini Illius Magistri* of 1929, the Magna Carta of Christian education, there are three original educational authorities endowed with primary responsibility: the family as the natural and divinely willed educator, the Catholic Church as the divinely willed educator, and the state as an educator. Just as the school does not possess its

positive forces that could shape a new, burgeoning German culture (art) in the spirit of the movement."

²⁴⁸ Cf. Peter Petersen, *The New European Education Movement, Weimar 1928; European Educational Reform Since the World War* (edited by the Reich Ministry of the Interior), Leipzig 1924.

An overview of this world movement is provided by the Frenchman B. Sautiere in the 1922 publication *École active* (German translation in *Pedagogy Abroad*, Vol. I, Weimar 1928).

full authority from its own power but receives it from the primary educators, the state will only conform to this educational order if it limits the school to its proper sphere of activity and does not permit it to encroach into the domain of the family and the Church, by refraining from usurping the family and the Church and taking their place, because the true soul of educational work is religion ²⁴⁹, and only in religious education do educational values appear in their true significance.

²⁴⁹ Josef Schrötter, *Educational Responsibility, Educational Right!*, Koesel-Pustet Publishing House, 1938, and Arnold Habermacher, *Religion and Education*, Peter Hanstein Publishing House, Bonn 1938.

3.10. Religion — Pastoral Care — Politics — Political Catholicism ²⁵⁰

An old problem is raised with these questions, one that was not unknown to the Middle Ages despite its piety. Notable are the names: Philipp der Schöne, Ludwig der Bayer, Marsilius of Padua, and a whole series of ecclesiastical legal scholars who, as court theologians, stood on the side of the state against the Church. It was a bitter lament when the bull of Pope Boniface VIII, *Unam Sanctam*, complained about this problem, which no era has fully resolved: *laicus clero semper inimicus* (the layman is always hostile to the cleric). It is understandable that in the political life of the present, this entire complex of questions had to be reopened. In the modern state, the Church's people and the state's people no longer coincide; their spheres intersect widely. These difficulties were unknown to both the Middle Ages and the era of the Reformation struggles, which, despite its opposition to the papacy, stood under Christian influence. In the present, this atmosphere of devout inclination toward the invisible world has vanished. Criticism and rejection have become an uncanny matter of course and are propagated. Religious Jerusalem marvels, shaking its head, at the old saints. The modern human no longer knows that they are limited and questioned by another dimension.

Liberalism has already exploited this tension between morality, politics, and pastoral care in the modern state for its purposes, particularly since the mid-19th century, with the slogans "political Catholicism," "clericalism," and "ultramontanism." In National Socialism, these difficulties lie within the system itself, as it strives for the unity of party,

²⁵⁰ Johann Peter Steffes, *Religion and Politics*, Herder Publishing House, Freiburg 1929, and Leopold Zöpler, *Religion and Politics*, Academic Press Association Printing House, Linz 1929, from the Protestant side valuable Richard Benz, *Spirit and Reich*, *On the Destiny of the Germans*, Eugen Diederichs Publishing House, Jena 1933.

worldview, and culture, the latter two in the sense of a programmatic worldview. The following words of leading figures are indicative ²⁵¹: “Churches and confessions have nothing to do with the practical matters of life but with those of faith. We leave it to religion to explain the essence of things and to grasp them dogmatically.”

Numerous questions naturally arise when such ideas reach their peak in a totalitarian world. Time and again, it is asserted in these debates that the struggle is not directed against religion as such but against the worldly political power of the Church, which, under the guise of religiosity, seeks to subjugate peoples. But in the total state, everything is political, as it is founded on a worldview that encompasses everything and leaves nothing outside. What is political, the state alone wishes to determine, and no one else. The pure inwardness to which the state relegates the individual citizen’s religiosity is thereby no longer binding for the shaping of life, as active, struggling life stands under the laws of another worldview. The Catholic recognizes the state and its power, but alongside power-political history, they know a sacred history that spiritually transcends the former. Here, the first difficulties begin, as the earthly world appears relativized through the spiritual-religious lens of Christianity, and the ideas of people, state, power, and contemporary honor are not to be believed as absolute. To provide an answer to these questions, one must first sharply delineate the issues: What is religion at all, and what is its task? How does it manifest itself? Are culture and Christianity two circles that merely happen to meet, or does Christianity not rather also create culture? Is not every religion culture-forming unless it is purely otherworldly speculative, like Buddhism, which, while creating magnificent religious monuments, has simultaneously become the cause of the sad social conditions for millions of people in the East?

²⁵¹ Reich Minister Kerrl, National Socialism and Faith, Lecture on October 16, 1935, at the reception of the Economic Advisory Board of the German Academy.

What is culture, and in what relationship does it stand to religion ²⁵²? Is religion the means, the prerequisite, or the foundation of culture ²⁵³? In the worldview of National Socialism, culture is “the sum of all racially conditioned spiritual, emotional, and moral values of the people.” ²⁵⁴

What is politics, and in what relationship does it stand to morality ²⁵⁵, and what is its task at all?

Is there an autonomous morality for politics and culture, a dual conscience, or an inherent lawfulness? Is politics, even if it were only the conscious shaping of communal life with the power means of the state, ultimately not more than an opportunistic stance that only reckons with sober facts? Alfred Rosenberg clearly emphasizes this close connection between politics and worldview in a lecture, “The Unity of Worldview and Culture,” which he delivered on the occasion of Technology Day on February 3, 1937, in the Rheinlandhalle in Düsseldorf.

We could further ask: Is there only one moral law that must be applied to all relations? Are there completely indifferent actions that are beyond good and evil? Does the Church have only an indirect influence on temporal matters?

With this, questions of the greatest profundity are touched upon, which are far more essential for the internal political shaping of a state than

²⁵² Theodor Haecker, *Christianity and Culture*, Koesel-Pustet Publishing House, Munich; Johannes Wagner, *The Social Question*, Tyrolia Publishing House, 1933.

²⁵³ According to the folkish view, “religion is a hindrance to culture,” Hochland, 1927–1929, p. 44 ff. Treatise by Wilhelm Moock.

²⁵⁴ Hans Severus Ziegler, *Practical Cultural Work in the Third Reich. Suggestions and Guidelines for Healthy Folk Education*, Franz Eher Publishing House, Munich 1932.

²⁵⁵ Julius Binder, *State Reason and Morality*, Junker & Dünnhaupt Publishing House, Berlin 1935, thoroughly addresses the problem of politics and morality.

all discussions about the fate of associations and organizations: the question of the relationship between politics and spirit, as all politics ultimately flows from some worldview, because the indispensable prerequisite of any creative politics and the restoration of the true concept of the political is faith in transcendental values. Repeatedly, in recent decades, the Church has raised objections against the deliberate separation of religion, morality, and politics. From Pope Pius IX (*Syllabus*) to Pius XI, there is a consistent stance that leaves little room for doubt ²⁵⁶. Protestant theologians ²⁵⁷ also increasingly recognize that this “spiritualization” of religion, Church, and public life, drawn from pietistic circles, particularly from the theology of Schleiermacher and his successors, would inevitably end with the displacement of Christianity into the innermost fold of private worship. The religion of Christ is comprehensive and cannot be a province of spiritual life alongside politics, economy, and culture but must represent the moral norm for all. Here, too, one sees how the Protestant liberal Church concept, by relegating religion entirely to the transcendental and uncontrollable, acts dissolvently and destructively as soon as the conclusions from its state-legal conceptions are implemented in public life. Thus, throughout the entire 19th century, it became the fundamental dogma and fundamental error of liberalism: the total privatization of the religious, from which all influence on the “world” is to be taken, to bring about a secularization of the extra-ecclesiastical space. Thereby, religion is degraded to the rank of a “private feeling.”

Even from individual Catholic writers (Ernst Michel), in recent years, views have often been expressed that are incompatible with Catholic

²⁵⁶ Cf. from recent times on Fascist endeavors Begrevo, *Concordata vigentia*, Romae 1934, p. 592.

²⁵⁷ *Journal Evangelical Theology*, March issue, Verlag Chr. Kaiser, Munich 1935; Martin Niemöller on the victory of the Church over the people; further Max Huber, *The Christian and Politics in Zufe der Zeit*, Bernese Lectures, Verlag der Evangelischen Gesellschaft in Berlin 1935; Alfred de Quervain, *The Theological Prerequisites of Politics*, Berlin 1933.

thought. There is certainly not a Catholic politics, economy, art, and culture in the sense that these areas proceed for the Catholic according to different general laws than for the non-Catholic, but different principles often apply for the Catholic, as there is a Catholic politician, economist, artist, and bearer of culture who also carries a distinct ethos within themselves. With all these questions, we already enter the problem designated by the term “political Catholicism.” It is the most abused slogan of old liberalism, which we already find in the 1850s. But what is meant by it ²⁵⁸? The extension of ecclesiastical influence into areas that have no immediate connection with religion? Confessional party formation, which also seeks a decisive influence of Christianity in public life, particularly in social legislation? Is this term directed against the strong push of some clerics into public life, or only against regrettable missteps in ecclesiastical circles that perhaps confused leadership with domineering and legalism? If the subordination of religion to purely political purposes is to be condemned, it must conversely be said that political action based on religious-worldview grounds does not by any means constitute a misuse of religion for political purposes. Because politics is essentially more than the exercise of state power, the stronger will, or calculating intelligence, it naturally and necessarily reaches into higher spiritual contexts.

Is the worldview of liberals, Marxists, and Lenin’s followers truly just a private matter that has nothing to do with public life? Why then this effort to implement their worldview principles into life? Or should an exceptional state be justified only for the believing Christian? It is further human that politicians of Catholic worldview have occasionally used their

²⁵⁸ A stance incompatible with Catholic sensibilities regarding the question of political Catholicism is taken by Ernst Michel (Catholic), when he states in his book *On the Ecclesiastical Mission of the Laity*, Lambert Schneider Publishing House, Berlin 1934, that the Church has for too long, in a medieval manner, sought to enforce a world order in the sense of the Church by postulating Catholic morality, Catholic science, and the Catholic state. Such claims are today rejected in Europe as “political Catholicism.”

influence to gain party-political or even personal advantages. But today, the attacks against political Catholicism are not only directed against such misuse; when one judges the problematic situation of our time more deeply, one recognizes that political Catholicism is often condemned today precisely because it is, by its nature, nothing other than the application of Christian principles to public life, thus more than merely a stance in religious-political boundary questions ²⁵⁹. No other worldview is as unified and self-contained as that of Christianity. This religious being of the human designates the complete closure of their spiritual existence. It is the highest unified way to judge all events of life in the light of the Christian worldview. The Christian, as the bearer of two worlds, stands in a special responsibility, because, in view of the ultimate goal—God and eternity—everything else, including state and politics, is only of secondary value. Religion has to do with politics insofar as the latter encroaches into the religious, as there are fundamental and numerous practical connections between the two. A complete separation of the two would detach wide areas of life from Christian faith and moral doctrine.

The history of political confessional parties proves, by the way, that they emerged in almost all countries to defend the most basic life rights of religion against the intolerance of worldview liberalism and the freemasonry almost always associated with it (Germany, Old Austria, Holland, Luxembourg, Spain, and most recently in Italy).

Since the Reichstag's main vote of 1803 brought about a significant shift in confessional relations in Germany in favor of Catholics, political Catholicism emerged as an opposition movement, influenced by Joseph Görres, in the history of the German people to defend the Catholic segment of the population, which had been economically, culturally, and politically plundered through the secularization of ecclesiastical estates, against further measures. A glorious history now begins, in which all German lands could produce outstanding Catholic personalities in public life, who were

²⁵⁹ Cf. the valuable treatise by C. Kaufmann, *Political Catholicism* in the journal *Der Fels*, Issue 10, Frankfurt am Main 1934/35.

by no means constrained in their national and state-political stance by their confession. It suffices to recall the Badenese Joseph von Buß and the editor of the *Historisch-politische Blätter*, J. Jörg. Bismarck himself, at the end of the *Kulturkampf*, drew this political Catholicism, which in 1870 had given itself a Christian, not purely confessional party program, into collaboration in government affairs. As great as this history was in the six decades, this political Catholicism never could nor wanted to equate itself with the Church, because barely 14% of the 70% German Catholics were also voters of this party.

Political Catholicism in Germany has today been overcome by a movement that has proven its historical legitimacy through the heroic and successful struggle against the destructive power of Bolshevism and the outrage of the peace treaties. But precisely because the so-called political Catholicism, with which I personally have never engaged, belongs to the past, one can do it justice; and precisely because we wish that the struggle of National Socialism against decay and chaos be victoriously concluded, we also wish that it leave no embitterment in the German soul. For a just judgment, it is necessary to recall the intellectual-historical situation in which political Catholicism arose and to distinguish between the time of its development in the fight against liberalism and the time that followed the collapse due to the World War. The German upsurge in the 19th century took place under the sign of liberalism and democratic rights, thus an individualistic mentality, which, as history has shown, undermined the sense of community and responsibility in broad sections of European peoples and made the bourgeoisie ripe for an upheaval. The Catholic people's leaders in Germany and Austria used the political combat means available in this situation to assert their worldview, which combated liberalism through a metaphysical sense of community, particularly in the political and social spheres. One of the greatest of these fighters, the Viennese mayor Dr. Karl Lueger, is treated by the leader of the national uprising in his book *Mein Kampf* as virtually a role model and teacher. He calls him the greatest German mayor of all time. Alongside him stood Baron von Vogelsang and Prince Alois Liechtenstein. The Reich German

leaders Windthorst, Mallinckrodt, the Reichenspergers, Schorlemer, Gneist, Lieber, Baron von Hertling, Gröber, Pichtler, and Peter Spahn belong to the representative figures of both parliamentarism and Christian social reform. It is true that in the field of social reform in Germany, two directions emerged: a more radical one, which aligned with Vogelsang's program, and that of Munich-Gladbach, which sought only to reform capitalism but fundamentally recognized it, and that the majority of Catholic social politicians in Germany belonged to this second direction. Historical development has moved beyond this direction. But it was not this circumstance that hindered the just appreciation of these politicians, but something entirely different. In the German Empire, politicians of Catholic worldview had to assert themselves against an alliance of liberalism and Protestant-tinted state leadership, which had the consequence that the Catholic opposition was fought as an opposition against nation and empire, although it was, of course, a great injustice to doubt the loyalty to people and empire of the Catholic population and Catholic politicians. Things were somewhat different in Austria, where relatively soon—albeit after an extraordinarily fierce struggle by Lueger against liberal dominance—the correct relationship between a religious-social reform movement and the conservative power holders of the state was established. Admittedly, in Austria too, the Christian-social movement ended in a compromise with the prevailing capitalism. This circumstance and the restraint of the national idea due to the conditions in the multi-ethnic Habsburg Empire ideologically weakened the Christian-social party, so that after the collapse, it faced a situation in Austria that differed far more from the pre-war period than in the German Empire.

We come thus to the second phase of political Catholicism, the time after the collapse. The German Empire was then threatened with disintegration due to the irreconcilable opposition between the liberal, individualistic-minded right-wing parties and the Bolshevist-tinged left-wing parties. It was politically necessary to first hold the empire together as best as possible. To this, political Catholicism in the German Empire decisively contributed, as it alone was capable of forming coalitions

in both directions. Under extreme political pressure, the party coalition that emerged from the upheaval initially had to engage in a policy of fulfillment. This policy was a burden and had to come to an end at some point. The question was which force would bring it to an end. When this force proved to be the passionate movement of National Socialism, the collapse of the party coalition associated with the fulfillment policy was a historical fate. Things were different in Austria. The Christian-social party, due to its past and its effectiveness in the multi-ethnic empire, was not sufficiently prepared for the elemental national idea breaking through. Seipel has the merit, despite all emphasis on an Austrian state idea, of promoting a community of conviction among all parties in the preparatory work for the future great German Empire but, for worldview reasons, rejecting collaboration with the admittedly extremely radical Austrian socialism. From Seipel also comes the famous program: Any combination with the empire, none without the empire. In Austria, there was already after the collapse a natural national-Christian-social coalition. That it did not immediately lead to a natural Christian-National Socialist coalition after the breakthrough of 1933, one will be able to calmly reflect on and judge once the sad fraternal strife is overcome. And these reflections in this book aim to contribute to that.

It would therefore be an honorable duty for Catholic historians in Germany to write, in particular, the history of German Catholicism since the end of the World War. The reproach of internationalist sentiment, the conflation of politics and religion, and the alleged constant dependence of Catholic parties on the Vatican ²⁶⁰, along with many other criticisms, would

²⁶⁰ Noteworthy is the letter of Pope Pius X of October 30, 1909, to Cardinal Archbishop Fischer in Cologne: "No less was the satisfaction," it says in that papal letter, "which We have drawn from the repeatedly expressed assurance that German Catholics wish to follow the authority of the Apostolic See in all religious matters. Even if some, who do not know the truth, have vehemently opposed this, this obedience, as continuous experience shows, leaves everyone complete and unrestricted freedom in those matters that do not concern religion."

collapse into nothing, and the few regrettable personalities and phenomena within its history could not diminish the enduring significance of the entire state-political and social achievement that emanated from this noble phalanx onto the German Empire and beyond. Figures like Windthorst, Mallinckrodt, the Reichenspergers, Schorlemer, Galen, Hohenstein, Hallekrem, Lieber, Hertling, Gröber, Kiene, Gröter, Pichtler, Peter Spahn, Lueger, and Seipel shine for all time not only as luminaries of world Catholicism but also as exemplars of German patriotism and German statecraft. If one could speak of mistakes—and which party has been spared from human and all-too-human failings?—then it would only be the “missed opportunity” to safeguard the national movement from worldview radicalisms and religious surrogates and to guide it into a conservative and Christian-national politics. Especially in the turbulent times that Europe is

On March 4, 1907, a unanimous decision was adopted by the delegates of all Catholic party organizations, emphasizing that “the Center Party, as a political, non-confessional party, is independent in purely political matters from the judgment of ecclesiastical authorities.”

Just as the Catholic parties in Germany, the Christian Socialists in Austria have always held this view. “I would only wish the Social Democrats were as little dependent on the Jews as we are on the Catholic clergy,” declared Dr. Lueger on July 3, 1901, in the Vienna City Council. Rightly, Lueger’s long-time comrade and biographer, Johann Stauracz, in his Lueger book (Braumüller, Vienna 1907) referred to a statement by an opponent of the Christian Social Party: “The Christian Socialists do not receive the commandments of their political conduct from Rome; they show understanding for the role of the clergy in the life of our peoples, but they have not bowed under the miter of the bishops.”

In contrast, during the struggle over the “Septennat,” Reich Chancellor Bismarck sought to influence the Center Party against the will of Windthorst to align with the Church.

Cf. the documented account of these events in Hohling, Bismarck and Papal Rome, pp. 153–167.

experiencing today, the great and lasting successes of political Catholicism should not be forgotten. If the revolution of 1918 was overcome relatively quickly, the constitutional state restored, and the turbulent current soon channeled back into a bed of order, reason, and law, this is essentially due to the collaboration of political Catholicism in Germany. That this occurred within the only possibility at the time, parliamentary democracy, was not the fault of the Catholics, for in the National Assembly of 1919, worldview liberalism of socialist and bourgeois orientation held the overwhelming majority. The balanced judgment of history will one day establish that this now-rejected “political Catholicism,” as time-bound as it was, was able to protect Germany from many errors of radical elements as long as a strong state authority, which National Socialism has bestowed upon the German people, was not yet possible. Undoubtedly, the entry of Catholicism into political party life carried great dangers, to which some representatives succumbed, as the secularization and consideration of matters purely from the perspective of the politically profane could, even indirectly through the party, spill over into religion itself.

Thus, it was also a natural phenomenon accompanying every political movement that two directions emerged within the Center Party: a conservative (monarchical-patriotic) one and a more socially democratic-liberal one. However, the connection of political Catholicism with Marxists, as much as it has been regretted and condemned from a fundamental standpoint, was not solely attributable to this left-leaning wing within the Center Party but rather was grounded in the unfortunate fact that the bourgeois political parties in the state parliaments and the Reichstag completely failed in worldview matters and were far more intolerant than the Marxists, many of whom were by no means revolutionaries but showed some alignment with the English Labour Party. Missteps must never be attributed to a cause in itself. There is always a gulf between ideal and reality, as every person, and even more so a party, always falls short of their best strengths. No one condemns National Socialism because it had to tolerate a corrupt group within it—no one should therefore break the staff over political Catholicism because, in some

resolutions, particularly in national matters, it did not show greater foresight and no longer brought the momentum of the movement to bear.

Above all, the slogan of political and religious Catholicism, which in its ultimate conclusions, if consistently thought through and implemented in life, leads to a dogmatic error, must be rejected here. Although the former Protestant and later convert Reinhold Baumstark ²⁶¹, who distanced himself from the Center Party after the Reich's founding, of which he was a deputy for several years, remained a loyal son of the Church, he nonetheless, in his zeal and due to a lack of insight into the problems, caused harm through this stance. Those who perceive morality applied in politics will never be able to admit two completely separate spheres of politics and religion or the right to a dual conscience, unless they wish to end up in the dead end of a heresy with the distinction between a political and religious Catholicism. Therefore, the fight against political Catholicism serves neither the Church nor the nation nor religiosity in general, but only the opponents of a Christian culture in public life. In fact, politics without dogma ²⁶² begins with the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, in which the Jew Spinoza degraded Christianity to a historically transient phenomenon without enduring values and ultimate normative forces. If there is a Christian culture, which is nothing other than the relation of all things to the center, the subordination of life's goods to the supreme good, the salvation from fragmentation, then there must also be a Christian politics, that is, the ordering of the affairs of public life according to the laws of

²⁶¹ Cf. his writing *Plus ultra, Fate of a German Catholic 1871–1881* (1927): “I regard the political Catholicism of the Center Party as a religious misfortune for the Catholic Church and a true national misfortune for the German Reich.”

J. Mayer, Baumgärt and Alban Stolz, Freiburg Diocesan Archive, New Series XXVI (published as a special edition 1915). Similar thoughts in Karl Jentsch, Franz Joseph Braus, who died in Spain, Wilhelm von Schorlemer-Alst, von Königl, etc.

²⁶² Cf. Paul Hazard, *La Crise de conscience Européenne*, Paris 1938.

Christian justice and love. Let us not overlook this connection between politics and ideological struggles. There are, in the long run, no worldview-indifferent states or parties. With entry into the history of humanity, all action is a stance for or against it. All politicians and statesmen have a specific creed, derived from religion, modern philosophy, or contemporary currents. More important than all political action is the reconstruction of the world of conscience. If we are to emerge from the chaos of the present, there is only one possibility: to restore the hierarchy of life's values and thereby bring politics under morality. It is also, from the perspective of the history of ideas, completely misconceived to see the deeper meaning of the present in the depoliticization of the Church and the secularization of religion, which began with the French Revolution and the subsequent secularization, to end with the demise of the church-state and the elimination of ecclesiastical parties. Certainly, pastoral care today has far greater significance than before; the space of houses of worship is more sacred, the eternal light in churches speaks more to the people of our time about the value of the soul and the inner human than in epochs of prosperity and ordered political conditions—but all this does not stem from the demise of political Catholicism but from the fact that people, exhausted by the politicization of all life, flee into the innermost sanctuary of their soul. Necessity has thus, in the past, created political Catholicism, that is, a political representation of Catholics in public life. Just as its emergence was historically conditioned, the duration of its existence was temporally limited. At the moment the state itself assumes the guarantee of religious freedom of conscience, the existence of such parties becomes superfluous. But even if no independent political parties exist anymore, the Church's task toward public life would not be concluded if it wishes to preserve and deepen the Christian character of peoples and states. The Church cannot possibly be indifferent to public life unless, like Buddhism or some spiritualist sects of the Middle Ages, it places the focus of its tasks exclusively in another world, or unless one wishes to understand Christianity purely eschatologically. Thus, everything hinges on the question of the correct relationship between religion and culture, state and

Church. If this entire question poses such a difficult problem, it is understandable that no one has yet found a universally valid practical formula. The delineation of the spheres of competence for religion and culture, and in further consequence for Church and state, has always remained a problem that no era has fully resolved and will always remain a problem. Without doubt, many errors have also been made in the Catholic camp during the last two centuries. The political rise of Catholicism was not always accompanied by the tact and restraint that a strong anti-Christianity demanded. The development of organizations perhaps proceeded too quickly and vehemently, without that slow, natural growth, without organic connection to the past. There was also often a lack of political instinct for the national awakening, for the world of ideas of the rising youth. It was further a deeply regrettable error that, ultimately, pastoral care with its purely religious organization was drawn into the bitter struggle of party politics. Thus, the focus of Catholic life was often shifted into organization and external work. It has not unjustly been said that there was a primacy of the political in the Catholicism of Central Europe. Catholicism was represented in parliamentary bodies and measured by the number of deputies. In many Catholic circles, Church and religion were not infrequently identified with party and political systems, whereas the Church can only support and promote when it concerns purely religious interests and not political matters, in which everyone must have the freedom of decision. It is therefore not always a disadvantage in politically tense times if the Church is withdrawn from the political struggle to better cultivate the supernatural life forces of religion and, in a time of oppositions, to stand above the fray of the day. Those who serve the eternal and, through diligent pastoral care, spiritually permeate the hearts of the faithful have created the best prerequisite for the continued existence of Christianity in public life. Political warrior natures and the Gospel are contradictory and incompatible concepts. The Church can, through its pastoral care, politically align systems when they are worldview-wise necessary and useful, but it must never identify with them, much less allow itself to be equated with party politics. The perspectives of both may

overlap in many areas, but politics thinks in a narrow space, while the Church must be universal-pastoral, that is, serve all. Religion and politics are, however, never or at least very rarely completely separable. A strict separation of the two is already impossible because the religious conscience permeates all areas of human life. Therefore, for a convinced Christian, there can be no dual conscience, a national, politically state-oriented one and a religious one. This conception would be incompatible with Christianity.

From the perspective of the history of ideas, the attempt at a fundamental separation of religion, pastoral care, and politics, and thus also the term “political Catholicism,” goes back to the Protestant, purely spiritualist concept of the Church, which Luther already taught and which later theology, under the influence of Schleiermacher, increasingly one-sidedly developed into an opposition between state and Church. But what we need today more than ever in the past are Christians for whom religion is a reality that reaches further than the incense of the Church allows, for whom the Gospel is more than a formality, in other words, the era of the early Church must come alive again, when being Christian was not yet a socially self-evident matter but a blood-soaked path to the cross. A correct word was spoken by Hitler (*Mein Kampf*, 424), which can also be applied to the Catholicism of the present if one wishes to have a lasting impact:

“Every worldview, no matter how correct and of the highest benefit to humanity a thousand times over, will remain without significance for the practical shaping of a people’s life as long as its principles have not become the banner of a fighting movement.”

3.11. Rome and the German People — National-Church Aspirations — Communism and Catholicism

The conceptions of some leading National Socialist writers in this field concern a series of questions that, since the mid-19th century, have repeatedly occupied Protestant research as well. Ultimately, however, everything revolves around two questions contained in the two concepts: Rome and Germandom.

When examining the various authors who have taken a stance on this in recent contexts, one further recognizes that it is not merely a struggle about Catholicism, ultimately about Christianity as an allegedly foreign intrusion into the German essence, but that the entire problematic is broadened into a spiritual confrontation between Germanic and Roman-Latin culture in general, so that, in a certain sense, the old struggle of Germania under Arminius against Rome seems to find its continuation today. One could briefly characterize this old problematic of Rome and Germandom through the following names: Widukind — Charlemagne — Boniface; Hohenstaufen — Gregory VII; Luther — Jesuits; Habsburg — Prussia; Potsdam — Aachen (Vienna).

Can one speak of an inherent, necessary opposition of the German nation to Rome? Does the anti-Roman affect truly accompany all those epochs of German history that must be designated as the awakening of national sentiment? Is Arminius or his brother Flavus the symbol of Germanic unity? Some might consider it superfluous to even pose such questions after a millennium of German Christian history, as no one can turn back the wheel of history. But the German faith movement has, with fateful tactlessness, nested itself in these thought processes to work toward a spiritual Gleichschaltung of nation and ancient Germanic religion-culture in the sense of the deification of blood and race, although, in the National Socialist program, if one does not misinterpret Article 24, there is hardly a starting point for this, and Hitler himself, in his work *Mein Kampf*, rejected this conclusion with the sharpest words.

Regrettably, it also came to pass that, in recent decades, Catholic circles, unwilling to detach themselves from the tendentious depictions of

Tacitus, not infrequently underestimated the ancient Germanic, thus the noble national culture, and overestimated the Latin-Romanic world. This unfortunate fact had to be rightly perceived as a provocation in nationally minded German circles and thus significantly intensified the opposition to Rome. The preference for Greek and Roman culture, which began with Winckelmann, also clouded the view of many non-Catholic German researchers regarding the greatness and significance of Germany's ancient Germanic prehistory. Instead of lovingly engaging with this past, which, morally seen, undoubtedly stood higher than the culture of the religiously and worldview-declining Roman Empire, a history was constructed, based on Tacitus and Roman sources, that instilled in German youth the Roman conception, as if the ancient Germans were merely barbarians. Had the Germans not possessed something indestructible and great natural virtues, their entry into the declining Roman cultural world, let alone their success in founding the West, would be inexplicable.²⁶³ On the other hand, it must not be overlooked that national circles, in their emphasis on pre-Christian Germanic culture, have gone too far and could no longer objectively judge the Christian era. The Christian-transformed antiquity, these writers claim, brought about a "tremendous concealment" of the Germanic German essence. The religious soul of the German was "shattered" by the historical development brought by Rome. A dangerous undertaking! Similar national-cultural endeavors are already evident in Japan, Hungary, Mexico, and Turkey, where, with the help of pantheistic ideas, a native national culture is being built, in which the values of Christian transcendence must become a foreign world.

²⁶³ Gustav Hoffstätter, *German Prehistory, an Outstanding National Science*, Kurt Kabitzsch Publishing House, Leipzig.

Among the actual innovations is the work by Wolfgang Schulz, *Pan-Germanic Culture in Word and Image*, J. G. Lehmann Publishing House, Munich, the most significant. It is a comprehensive, though partly somewhat one-sided, depiction of the world and essence of the Germans, as it has rarely been offered in such completeness before.

In all these thought processes, Rome repeatedly appears as the great counterpole to strong national cultures. But since Greek and Roman antiquity, with not insignificant components, flowed into that of the West, this struggle in the European space simultaneously becomes one against the idea of a Christian West.

From the plethora of problems posed by the question of Rome and the German people, only a very few can be highlighted here. A large part of them I have addressed in my previous writings: *Rome, Christianity, and the German People* and *The German People and the Spiritual West*. Also, in the section of this book, "The Problem of Racial Influence in the Development of Western Christianity," various questions have been answered.

Undoubtedly, the modern struggle over Rome has presented Catholic scholarship with new, rewarding tasks to thoroughly examine the entire relationship of Rome as a cultural-religious-political symbol vis-à-vis the German nation. A history of German Catholicism in the spirit of Hansen would be important, but with careful consideration of current problems; likewise, a history of German theology must soon be written to investigate the significant contribution of the Germanic cultural sphere to the development of Christianity in the West, which is not infrequently underestimated by Romanic peoples. If the official body for Reich history has established a separate department for researching national-church aspirations in Germany, this contains a warning to German Catholic scholarship to take up these serious questions, which today torment countless young, capable people, within the scope of its own research. Above all, it is about fundamental programmatic statements that repeatedly arise in the treatment of the question "Rome and the German People," significantly influence the entire religious and historical perspective, and have already, more or less clearly, been formulated as an "anti-Roman affect" in Hagar de, Chamberlain, and Arthur Bonus. Noteworthy is how deeply the race and national idea have today penetrated these questions, even among non-German-speaking peoples. Like a spiritual thread, these ideas run through the world today. We find similar demands and interpretations in Mexico, where Christianity is fought with the nationalist

intention of reviving the old culture of the Aztecs and Mayas; in Peru, the era of the Incas is glorified; in Japan, there are similar endeavors of Shintoism, which portray all foreign influences as hostile and harmful to the Japanese people.

a) Are there truly two essentially different types of piety, a Germanic-Nordic and a Southern-Romanic one?

Rosenberg states: Rome is decadent and rigid at the same time! Günther ²⁶⁴, however, describes the essence of German piety with the following thoughts:

“The Nordic layer of the Indo-Germanic peoples is oriented solely toward this world (Indo-Germanic piety is one of bodily-spiritual health), it is steadfastness in the face of fate, not religiosity of fear, sin-consciousness, or self-condemnation, but an immediate relationship to God without the intermediary of the priesthood, with an urge for mutual friendship between the divine and the human in the sense of Plato and pantheism. German piety knows no fear, no passive waiting for grace, no redeemer or savior concept, no duality (dualism) between body and soul; it is life-harmony in the sense of Goethe’s life conception, with a pronounced heroic character of masculine, soldierly activism glorifying life, in which the cultivation of masculine and chivalric virtues in daily struggle appears more important than the ‘truly individualistic concern’ for securing an afterlife existence. In contrast to this piety of Germanic character, rooted in the pagan humanity,

²⁶⁴ Origin and Racial History of the Germans, p. 361 ff., Lehmann Publishing House, Munich 1938. In this sense, the cultural-political proposals of Hans Günther, who has taken over the leadership of the Chamber for Literature, also move, German Cultural Policy, pp. 20–23, Albert Langen-Georg Müller Publishing House, Munich 1935, with strong “German-faith” sentiments. The same spirit permeates the Reich Regulations of German Educators (National Socialist Teachers’ Journal), 1934, Issue 10 (Pan-Germanic Education).

Much more sober and factual, in contrast, are the findings of the significant religious historian Carl Clemen, Pan-Germanic Religious History, Ludwig Rohrscheid Publishing House, Bonn 1934.

as it speaks from the testimonies of the Greek spirit and Germanic culture, the religions that penetrated from Asia are ‘pale, life-hostile constructions.’”

In a similar vein, Kolbenheyer ²⁶⁵ attempts to displace a ‘dogmatic’ system of the Roman Church with a racially (biologically) grounded religion. But if one consistently follows these thought processes, one would naturally have to conclude that the racial difference of peoples is decisive not only for religious experience but also for metaphysical truth. In other words, the consequence would be a relativism of knowledge as well! These conceptions are connected to the thought processes of the Tübingen professor Hauer, who, in his programmatic Berlin lecture on October 25, 1934, explained the term he coined, ‘religious will,’ and, among other things, proclaimed ²⁶⁶:

“Race and faith are most intimately connected and inseparable. The opposing view is combated by the German faith movement as destructive in both a religious and biological sense, because it undervalues or even dismisses as worthless and obstructive to religious life the reality of blood as a creative power that is simultaneously our fate... If we want to newly ground the spiritual culture of Germany in faith, we must accept the great laws of what happens in life as guidelines, but not as a dogma. There will always be a community of Jesus. But the other question, whether Christianity should stand as the normative authority at the center of Germany’s religious life, is answered differently by the German faith movement, which declares: that Christianity as the central normative authority in the German people is an episode in German history, and this episode is coming to an end.”

An entire school is already working in this direction to transfer the race concept to the cultural domain, in complete opposition to the National Socialist program, and to spiritually isolate the essence of Germanic piety,

²⁶⁵ To the Netherlands, Two Treatises. Albert Langen-Georg Müller Publishing House, Munich 1935.

²⁶⁶ Full text in the Political Observer, 1934, No. 292.

with a preference for the worldview of the Greeks and Aryans in general and an increasingly strong rejection of Christianity as a beyond-religion.

This racially German piety ²⁶⁷, lacking any connection to the moral voluntarism given in Christianity, is, upon closer inspection, nothing other than a massive self-delusion, a self-deception, a dogma-less pantheism with echoes of German idealism. The reality of even the Nordic human is different. The power of sin cannot be erased from our existence through artificially constructed piety types. It is precisely in this that Christianity proves itself to be entirely life-true, as it teaches humans to see the reality of original guilt and sin in their terribleness again and again. We experience today what this 'natural' human is, and we will experience it even more terribly if the further conclusions are drawn. The Christian doctrine, however, does not deceive humans about this reality but opens their eyes without thereby darkening their zest for life or weakening an original natural force. Humility is not servitude but clear recognition of oneself; original sin is not Semitic fantasy but a sad fact that even religious-historical research cannot deny, no matter how much Schweitzer tries to provide such evidence ²⁶⁸.

These constructions of German piety reflect a complete misrecognition of the essence of Christianity, which, like no other religion

²⁶⁷ Cf. the following writings: Walter S. Otto, *The Spirit of Antiquity and the Christian World*; Gustav Neckel, *On Pan-Germanic Religion*, Hermann Wendt Publishing House, Berlin; Andreas Heusler, *Germandom*, Carl Winter Publishing House, Heidelberg; Gottfried Spannuth, *Faith and Culture of Our Ancestors*, Kurt Stenger Publishing House, Erfurt, and *The Pan-Germanic Religion and Christianity*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Publishing House, Göttingen; Hans Naumann, *The Gods of Germania*, in *Education and Fulfillment*, J. B. Weglersche Publishing Bookstore, Stuttgart; Walter S. Otto, *The Gods of Greece*, Gerhard Schulte-Bulmke Publishing House, Frankfurt am Main.

²⁶⁸ Josef Schüßler, *Heredity in the Light of Religious History*, a religious and dogmatic-historical treatise, Bologna 1933.

on earth, presupposes the greatest heroism of will to conquer and maintain the supernatural. Christianity bears no feminine sentimental traits and no decadent phenomena across cultures. The interpretation of the Christian virtues of humility and love, as advocated by this literature, as if they were nothing but weakness, baseness of spirit, servility, and cadaverous obedience, unworthy of German men's conscience, is completely unjust. It rests on a total misrecognition of the concepts of honor and humility, both of which are rooted in the same existential depth and, especially in the heroic lives of so many Christian saints, have given humanity marvelous blossoms of heroism. Only those who take Christianity seriously and seek to implement it in life realize how difficult it is to be a Christian in modern life, how much renunciation and sacrifice are necessary to maintain the religious high ground. Christianity is often judged by these constructors of their own religion only by externalities and historical ballast, rather than by its deep life forces.

No one denies differences in religious thinking among peoples, conditioned by character, language, race, and landscape. Christianity, as a world religion, can bridge and balance these differences in essence through its universally shared dogmas, all-encompassing organization, and unified liturgy. But it never set itself the task of simply eradicating or leveling everything that blossoms from good nationality. Thus, there have always been differences in architecture, mysticism, which, despite its supernatural character, can be folk-bound, in religious folk customs, and even in theology, where German and Romanic authors do not always follow the same paths, no matter how much they converge in dogmatics. The forms of piety of the Catholic Nordic human, despite shared dogmatic foundations, by no means align in every respect with those of southern peoples. But those who more deeply consider the racial and folkish differences will come to the conviction that individual nations are culturally and religiously interdependent, and that this harmonization process can only find realization in a world Church, not in a national Church, as far as is humanly possible. What is true is distributed among the peoples, and only through exaggeration is the national essence falsified. Nordic piety is

characterized by depth, inwardness, moral rigor, a capacity for mystical immersion, and intellectual shaping power. The distinctive feature of the German is: relentless thinking, reflecting, and searching, the Faustian. Then the iron, persistent will, and finally its admirable organizational power.

But German piety is threatened by the danger of neglecting form and order, making the conviction of the individual the absolute arbiter, sacrificing objective truth to even an erring conscience, falling into religious subjectivism, and rebelling against the claim of a religious authority.

Southern-Romanic piety possesses a particular simplicity and straightforwardness of thought, intellectual clarity, faithful humility, integration into the community of the Church, the will to form and order, and the courage for unquestioning ultimate devotion to God. Not unjustly is it said that the Romanic human is by nature religiously inclined, even when there is a gulf between external piety and moral conduct. But Romanic piety is constantly accompanied by the danger of overestimating reason, that form becomes formula and ultimately replaces inner conviction, by the danger of rigidity and externalization, intellectual superficiality, and religious frivolity.

If only one of these two forms of piety prevailed in the Church of God, it would be an impoverishment, for each harbors values that the other lacks. If both forms of piety stood side by side without mediation, the contrast would be hard to bear and could lead to discord. However one may think about the allegedly violent imposition of Christianity in Germany a thousand years ago and the associated alienation of Germanic piety dispositions—in any case, the Germandom of that time had no effective religious force to oppose Christianization, and one must regard and accept this now thousand-year-old interweaving of Germandom with Christianity as a German fate. With good reason, Gustav Paul says ²⁶⁹: “If the paganism of the Germans, whose heroic traits are sympathetic and should not be denied,

²⁶⁹ Fundamentals of the Racial and Spatial History of the German People, p. 258, J. G. Lehmann Publishing House, Munich 1935.

had been inwardly superior to Christianity, it would have triumphed over it. In reality, however, it was precisely the opposite: Christianity was vastly superior to the Germanic religion... It is therefore not correct that Christianity broke the life force of the Nordic race.”

Moreover, Christianity in German lands has, for over a thousand years, become increasingly Germanized and internalized. No religious worldview of antiquity transitioned into Christianity as organically, smoothly, and universally as the Germanic. With none did less unresolved residue or irrational remnants remain. Even the ancient pre-Christian religious conceptions of God ²⁷⁰ among the Germans penetrated into Christianity—not only into Protestantism—and have repeatedly transformed it, adapting to themselves and the folk spirit. In the German Christianity of today, there lives, without doubt, more of the pre-Christian God-consciousness of the ancient Germans than we could know or experience through any other path. The alienation of Germandom through Christianity is overestimated. It was not German mysticism that was the first German “metaphysical shaping will,” but Christianity was already Germanized in its first encounters with the Nordic tribes.

Since the Heliand poet, who, like Gottschalk, signifies an overcoming of the Mediterranean by the German spirit, since Meister Eckhart and the great mystics up to Romanticism, in faith and thought, in German poetry and German painting, German architecture and German music, for a thousand years the best of the German soul has been forged into an indissoluble unity with Christianity ²⁷¹.

²⁷⁰ Cf. the old scholastic principle: *Quidquid recipitur, ad modum recipientis recipitur*.

²⁷¹ Will Peiper in: *Die neue Literatur*, p. 147, March 1934.

But those who do not wish to acknowledge these facts would first have to provide a clear, unambiguous answer to the question: What is German at all ²⁷²?

No one denies the elective and natural affinity of the German spirit with the Greek (Greeks and Germans are Indo-Germans), but the urgent question arises: for what reasons was the adoption of the Greek-Roman-determined Christianity by the Germanic peoples possible at all? Two explanations are given today: either these peoples had such an undeveloped consciousness of themselves and their life's law that they succumbed to the richly structured, new religious culture without regard to whether it suited them or not, or—the other possibility—the adoption was based on a felt superiority of the “foreign” religion over their own, on an objective superiority of the adopted culture by the—in the Roman sense—“barbaric” peoples. Can one discern in German intellectual history up to the 19th century a resistance of the Germanic religious mentality to the Christianity preached by Rome? This notion of a suppression of the Germanic-German essence contradicts entirely the manner in which Rome was received in Germania. Never would a violent interpenetration of Germanic and Christian life values have led to new, strong, and vibrant forms.

From a folk-historical perspective, one would further have to ask: Is Nordic a spiritual attitude originally associated with all Indo-Germanic peoples? Then, naturally, these peoples would have to share in this spirit. The question would remain only how the adoption of the “foreign” Christianity could have occurred. But if one defines the concept of “Nordic” biologically, then, given the racial mixing of European peoples, one would not understand how the 7% Nordic people that Germany still counts today could give the imprint to a new, emerging world era.

²⁷² Hans Heyse-Königsberg, *Idea and Existence*, Hanseatic Publishing House, Hamburg 1935.

Even Martin Wähler ²⁷³, who writes in a collective work entirely built on the alienation theory of Günther and Hauer ²⁷⁴, must admit that the investigation of the religious folk character from a racial standpoint still lacks a scientifically secure foundation, so that serious scholars, with justified skepticism, outright reject it. No people can reject everything foreign, as, according to the creation plan and even modern science, which makes no apodictic judgments, peoples and nations are interdependent to establish high cultures of a religious or worldly kind. Many originally foreign goods have, through adoption by the people and centuries-long use, taken on the color and flavor of the German soil. A healthy people only adopts what corresponds to its nature. What, like Christianity, has been cherished and practiced by the majority of the people for centuries must have corresponded to the essence of the people. That superstition was a foreign import of the East, no one who knows the ancient Germanic religion and considers the historical fact that witch hunts, folk superstition, and ghost cults were hardly more widespread in any other land than in German-speaking areas will believe.

It is an illusionary historiography that considers everything under the ideology of a misunderstood National Socialism and in an anti-Roman affect, when even respected German scholars answer the question of the essence of the German human with the “beautiful sense” of the Edda, the “high courage” of the Nibelungenlied and knightly customs, with the “breakthrough to the deep layer of a personal God-experience” and the “restlessness of the soul.” ²⁷⁵

²⁷³ In German Volkskunde, edited by Prof. Adolf Spamer, Reich Leader of the Department of Volkskunde in the Reich Community for German Folk Research, p. 600 ff., Bibl. Institute, Leipzig, and Herbert Stubnerauch, Berlin 1935; further Hermann Wirth, What is German?, Bundischer Verlag, Heidelberg 1934.

²⁷⁴ German God-Perception, Karl Guthrod Publishing House, Stuttgart 1934.

²⁷⁵ Hans Naumann, Willy Andreas, Adolf Helbok, Gerhard Fricke, and Erich Rothacker, The German Person?, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart 1935.

Those who delve deeper into the authoritative literature dealing with the concept of German piety and concerned with its folkish authenticity recognize that, ultimately, these discussions are about the rejection of original sin, the intermediary role of the Church, and the papal primacy of the Roman Church, which allegedly do not correspond to the German nature. The overemphasis on the heroic political life ideal, in which the bearers of the future German folk strength, military power, economy, culture, and state leadership are to be educated, leads to a Germanic Pelagianism that expects everything from the purely natural, race-unbound life force of German nationality and sees in the heroic struggle for this the special moral endowment of the Nordic racial soul. In the face of such a biologism, Christianity, with its doctrine of sin and redemption, grace and sacraments, must indeed appear as an unheroic Semitic mythos and as magic.

The intellectual fathers of such an interpretation of Christianity for the Germans were, however, not National Socialists but Nietzsche, Chamberlain, and Hagarbe, although, on the Catholic side, Thomas Becker (Mainz) and Hermann Schell (Würzburg) also praised an “activist” youth ideal.²⁷⁶

Those who consistently think further in these conceptions would have to designate the thousand years of German history in Christianity as a delusion of our people and unconditionally reject Rome, which, as the center of Catholicism, has been the main bearer and opponent of the Christian movement in all centuries.

Similar thoughts in the special issue of the South German Monthly, *Expressions of Germanic Religiosity*, Munich 1934.

²⁷⁶ Preface by A. Gierer, *Modernism*, p. 27 ff., Benziger Publishing House, Einsiedeln, as opposed to “Americanism.”

It is extremely gratifying to see that, in contrast to these claims, respected Protestant ²⁷⁷ and Catholic scholars, through objective research, arrive at similar conclusions in the correct assessment of the relationship between Rome, Christianity, and Germanism. Only political reasons, and nothing else, led the Saxons to fight against the Christian missionaries. No one has yet provided evidence that the Christianization of Germany brought about a change in the Germanic nature. The adoption of Christianity by the Germanic peoples was neither violent nor was it itself a violation of the German soul, but rather a mutual fructification and interpenetration of ancient Christian spirit and Germanic sensibility. The poet of the *Heliand* was no less a true German than the ancient Germanic priests who sang cult songs in praise of Wotan.

Germanism is, in general, only one, albeit perhaps the strongest, of the many sources from which the stream of German life is fed. Already Jauer (*Epochs of German History*) emphasized with insistence that one must not equate Germans and Germans, not least because the Germans, among the entirety of Germanic peoples (including the English!), do not yet constitute the majority. More decisive than this numerical relationship seems the fact that much of what we today consider an essential component of Germanism was not at all contained in Germanism. I mention here only the first point in the program of National Socialism: the German unity idea, which was fought for centuries by all German tribes, not only by the princes, but by the people, and, when temporarily realized, was repeatedly destroyed ²⁷⁸. Characteristic of the Germanic tribes, for whom the term *barbari* was coined to distinguish them from the Roman population, is the lack of a unified name as well as a unified cultural will that would have enabled them to successfully counter the decline of Roman culture in the

²⁷⁷ Cf. the noteworthy treatise by Johannes Bühler, *Germanism and Christianity*, in the scientific journal *Honest Work*, No. 3 of February 5, 1934.

²⁷⁸ Ludwig Schmidt, *The East Germans, History of the German Tribes Until the End of the Migration Period*, C. H. Beck Publishing House, Munich 1934.

sense of a synthesis and create a national empire. Only in Christianity did it succeed in bridging this hatred, with which the old German tribes mutually persecuted each other, through a spiritual religious unity. This historical merit of the Christian religion in German-speaking areas no frog can deny or diminish. Therefore, in the closing speech of the Nuremberg Party Congress of 1937, the achievements of Christianity for German nation-building were fully recognized by the appointed interpreter of the National Socialist program.

b) Was the Roman Empire of the German Nation a severe damage to national historical development ²⁷⁹? Since the mid-19th century, when Heinrich von Sybel, in contradiction to other scholars, particularly Ficker, described the Italian policy of the German kings as a delusion, this thousand-year section of history has been passionately fought, as if all misfortune in the German people were solely attributable to this conflation of religious and political ideas, which began with the coronation of the Frankish king Charlemagne.

After the dispute over the personality of Charlemagne ²⁸⁰ has already been decided by Adolf Hitler himself in the sense of the earlier folkish conception, the struggle over the interpretation of the First Reich continues all the more fiercely. In Sybel and Ficker, and this holds true up to the present-day leading National Socialist historiography, it is not merely two different scholarly interpretations of German history that confront each other, but the Prussian historical perspective, which projects its

²⁷⁹ Heinrich Hostenkamp, *Medieval Imperial Politics in German Historiography*, Emil Ebering Publishing House, Berlin 1934. In the *Historical Studies*, edited by Dr. Emil Ebering, Issue 255. Heinrich Günther, *Medieval Imperialism*, Munich 1935; Leopold Ziegler, *The Holy Book of the Germans*, Darmstadt 1925; the same, *The United Germandom and Rome*, C. H. Beck Publishing House, Munich 1934: "Not a lack of nobility lies behind [the attitude of Luther and Widukind], but a lack of knowledge about the essential."

²⁸⁰ On the question, cf. the *Collection of Contributions on Charlemagne or Charlemagne*, H. G. Müller Publishing House, Berlin 1935.

state-political goals onto the Middle Ages, and the universal, pan-German stance of the Viennese scholar Ficker. Not a few German writers regard the Roman-German imperial idea as nothing less than a detriment to the German unity concept, although they cannot deny that the transfer of the Roman crown to the German people was simultaneously linked to the leading role in European history. This goes hand in hand with a harsh polemic against the ruling house of the Habsburgs, which bore this crown for over four centuries but is today designated as the archenemy of Germandom. With a passion rarely found elsewhere, this dynasty is fought, although no other empire advanced the German cultural idea so far to the south and east as precisely this one (cf. the German settlements in Hungary and Yugoslavia), and although Germandom never held such a culturally powerful position in Central Europe as it did in the old multi-ethnic monarchy, where every high official spoke German and was thus compelled to align with German culture—a situation that has fundamentally changed since 1918 in the successor states.

This struggle against the idea of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation has, for several decades, been accompanied by a deliberate highlighting of the particular cultural achievements of Protestantism, in contrast to which those of the Catholic population segment, and thus of the entire Catholic Middle Ages, are deemed insignificant. Those who carefully examine the works of the leading figures who prepared this mentality of National Socialist literature recognize that in the evaluation of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, the Greater German and Lesser German historical conceptions stand in opposition, and the rejection of Rome is a preconceived, deliberate tendency. This is already indicated by the slogans under which these debates about the imperial idea are conducted: “centralism — federalism; universal politics — national politics; empire — state; Roman — Christian — Western — German-national — Protestant — Prussian; the close entanglement with the Church and the destructive disputes between the papacy and the empire were detrimental to the development of the German state and people; they prevented the German-national unitary state, weakened imperial authority, and entangled

the Germans in boundless plans; particularist endeavors were strengthened, foreign policy struggles were carried into domestic political life, the German people were pitted against other peoples, and the western border was endangered.”

Often, under this historical view, only those emperors of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation who stood in political opposition to Rome are recognized as national, even if, in their family life, they by no means embodied the ideal of German character. From a Christian perspective, the private lives of many German rulers of the Middle Ages, who are today celebrated as trailblazers of the present, cast deep shadows. Frederick II was anything but German. It is a myth to attribute national sentiment to him, who loved the south more than his German homeland. Henry IV and Louis the Bavarian, as Christians, were also not free from great errors. But whoever frees themselves from subjective emotional factors and judges this millennium of German-Italian history from a higher vantage point must acknowledge that the medieval struggle between emperor and pope, however much human elements played into it on both sides, was not caused by spiritual lust for power or anti-German sentiment of the Roman clergy, but that, in most cases, entirely different, deeper problems lay behind it. In any case, the question is not resolved as to whether, in these medieval conflicts between Rome and Germandom, differences between Roman and German state-ecclesiastical conceptions (*Sachsenspiegel*, *Schwabenspiegel*) were also at play. Perhaps it would have been better if, instead of the illusion of the Roman-German imperial crown, the domestic political unity of the German tribes had formed the state ideal of the rulers of that time. But no one can turn back the wheel of history according to today's wishes and demand that the state politics of that era be shaped according to the conceptions of later centuries. Numerous reasons, by no means all religious, prompted the German princes of the Middle Ages to march to Italy and undertake campaigns to Rome: consideration of similar endeavors by the French and English, the leading role in European politics, and the close economic ties between the two countries. In any case, the grand plan to win the Slavs for the empire could, under the conditions of

that time, only be realized with Rome and not in opposition to the Roman Curia. Nothing proves this better than the politics of Otto the Great and the founding of the Archdiocese of Magdeburg. Without the Roman politics of the emperors, the eastern colonization would have collapsed quickly, and West Prussia, Courland, and Livonia would later have become German and Christian simultaneously. Perhaps, seen in this light, the founding of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation is the only world-political act that has brought lasting prestige to the German people to this day. Nothing is as telling as the fact that none of the German princes rebelled against the role that history had assigned to the Germans in Italy at that time. On the contrary, the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation was a source of obvious faith and pride. It is therefore inappropriate to project our current political perspectives onto the past to judge it. Neither Widukind, whose name is inscribed in the *Martyrologium Germanicum*, nor the Welfs are suitable as national heroes, as both remained enemies of the German unity idea and particularists of tribal rule and dynastic power politics. The grand Germanic conception in Charlemagne's empire, in which the subjugation of the Saxons was a "political necessity," failed to achieve its full realization only because it was conceived too grandly for one generation. Thus, we stand before the undeniable fact that Charlemagne, whom Leopold von Ranke also calls the "executor of world history," is rooted more deeply in the heart of the German people than his opponent Widukind. Charlemagne was more universal; the sagas of many peoples revolve around him, from the Orient to Iceland, his spiritual energies extend; Widukind, outside his old domain in the Lower Saxon region, never became a spiritual force, he did not even encompass the entire German folk territory, and his pagan tribal followers contributed not the slightest to the German colonization of Slavic territories beyond the Elbe. It was further a natural consequence that, in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, in which different peoples and races were united in cultural and political unity, only the state idea of *ad Romam* could have legitimacy. From this coexistence of different nations in the same political space,

Germandom ultimately gained significant advantages in all cultural domains.

Thus, the later so magnificent German colonization policy was pursued, and Germandom was geopolitically advanced as far as precisely during this time. Alongside Benedictines and Premonstratensians, in Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and the present-day province and kingdom of Saxony, the main promoters of Germanization were the Cistercians. Through Christianity and its messengers, the German people grew to more than double its original territory. Only small Slavic linguistic enclaves in the Spreewald and the Lausitz, and the Slavic origin of two German princely dynasties (those of Reuss and Mecklenburg), bear witness to the original nationality of these now German lands.

Germany thus became the bearer of the universal imperium, which, through its connection with Rome, encompassed the entire Western Christianity; through this, German culture was spread throughout the West, and in the heyday of the Middle Ages, a world-economic great-space policy was made possible. The emperors were bearers of one of the greatest historical-political ideas, the Christian-Roman imperium. The influence of the West Franks was pushed back only by the preeminent position of this imperium.

Every politics of a nation must transcend national boundaries. This applies to no nation as much as to the German one. History has taught us this on every page. It is therefore a very limited, erroneous standpoint to regret that the Germans ever crossed the Alps, that they meddled in Roman world affairs and thus deprived their fatherland and homeland of their best and noblest folk forces. If history teaches anything at all, it has shown nothing more clearly than that the essence and world-historical significance of Germandom from the beginning lay precisely in that striving toward the spiritual and political world capital. Through all centuries, there was no more German politics than to strive across the Alps (*ultra montes*), there was no more German politics than the Roman, the Romantic. Through all centuries, the Germans went to Rome when they were great, when they

were conscious of their calling, when they were truly German, that is, folkish ²⁸¹.

But not only to the advantage of the Germans is Germanic politics Christian and Roman politics, but to the advantage of the entire world.

If one wishes to judge the struggle of the Hohenstaufen against Rome not merely as a political but also as a religious-cultural problem, then it was not only a defense of Rome against the German encirclement of the church-state but also a struggle for the universal essence of the Catholic church concept, against ruler despotism and servility. Even if in our days it is rightly desired that German historiography, which in past decades often lagged behind the demands of the day due to a lack of political passion and militancy, should relinquish some of its previous objectivity to gain healthy, justified national pride and thus judge the course of events not in empty dreams but from folkish perspectives, this endeavor must not go so far as to ultimately write history only as it should have been. To misrecognize historical necessities is to engage in illusionary historiography ²⁸², to fear the truth, and to stretch historical developments onto a Procrustean bed to deny that the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation was indeed the greatest idea of the German human and the most tremendous creation of the West, with whose universality nothing else in Europe can be compared. This is not to speak in favor of a one-sided glorification of the Middle Ages, which, despite the coherence of its religiously oriented worldview, exhibits not insignificant shadows that no criticism, however inclined to

²⁸¹ Richard von Kralik in his Cultural Studies, which, though written 30 years ago, are as relevant as if they were written yesterday.

²⁸² Fighting Science, by Walter Frank. With a foreword by Reich Youth Leader Baldur von Schirach. Hanseatic Publishing House, Hamburg 1934. The writing, nominally a memorial to Heinrich von Treitschke, is simultaneously a program of what the National Socialist revolution demands from historiography, and a critique of what the German historical generation of the pre-war period, the epigones of Kant and Treitschke, considered "valid" for national historiography.

Romanticism, can obscure ²⁸³. No epoch of human history can simply be presented as the Christian or the Catholic era.

Only a few fleeting thoughts could be expressed here, intended to contribute to further discussion of the difficult problematic. Those who wish to engage more deeply with it will find the initial guidance in the literature provided as a note. Also in this important question of the correct assessment of such a vast section of history, it becomes clear that slogans can only muddle the calm, dispassionate judgment of the past but do not bring us closer to a solution. History written only from a party-political perspective is not science but an inadmissible tendency, as the case of Geschloßberg has sufficiently proven. Roman campaigns and crusades, in which the world-historical significance of Germandom is most clearly expressed, can only be criticized from a narrow, petty-national standpoint.

c) National Church — Romanism and Catholicism

The newly founded “Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany” in October has included, among the four major work plans announced by its chairman, Professor Walter Frank, the “investigation of national-church endeavors in the 20th century.” A few weeks earlier, the Nationalsozialistischen Monatshefte (October, p. 67) extensively addressed the striving for a German national church in the Middle Ages. Equally noteworthy, as they move along the same line and direction, are the relevant statements in the journal *Deutsches Volkstum* (1937), issue 24, “The Catholic Church and the People of the Germans.” Here, too, ideas, wishes, and endeavors resurface that, in the German people, have not entirely come to rest since the beginning of the 20th century. It is the urge for greater or even complete ecclesiastical independence of Germandom from Rome. An abundant propagandistic literature today ensures the dissemination of this ideological world among the common people. Since the people of our time mostly live entirely without historical knowledge and unburdened by insights into the past, they readily, under the influence of these ideas,

²⁸³ Theodor Steinbüchel, *Christian Middle Ages*, Jacob Hegner Publishing House, Leipzig 1934.

dissolve any continuity, simply leaping over centuries of historical development ²⁸⁴. These are serious questions whose significance should not be overlooked, even in Catholic circles. With skillful propaganda that exploits various tactical errors of ecclesiastical authorities, a mentality against Rome could gradually be cultivated in German youth, which, after decades, might dangerously break through. The struggle over Rome has once again become the great focal point around which the thoughts of many respected National Socialist personalities in our days revolve. Some radical representatives go so far in their claims as to designate Catholicism outright as the death of their own nationality and as a denial of their own national past and future. Already the Lutheran “Centuriators,” who published the first “substantially” church history, saw in Rome a *mysterium iniquitatis*. Well-known are the words of Chamberlain, rightly regarded as a precursor of this anti-Roman stance, that the Roman Church has been, from the outset, the “shield and weapon-bearer of all anti-Germanic endeavors.” ²⁸⁵ National-church endeavors are thus an expression of Rome-free piety that corresponds to the German soul. A proverb says: In Rome, the peoples perish (Gregorovius).

Thus, the relationship between Catholic Christianity and national, German thought has indeed become one of the most pressing questions of the present. Those who see in history only a racially biological result of different peoples ²⁸⁶ will no longer muster understanding for the following fundamental considerations. For us, Christianity, in this or that form of

²⁸⁴ Alfred Müller, *Rome in German History, Thousand Years of Tragedy*, Schwertschmidt Publishing House, Stuttgart 1934; particularly belonging to this literature are the numerous polemical writings of the Katzenberg Association (Central Jewish Office).

²⁸⁵ Foundations, p. 515.

²⁸⁶ Karl Zimmermann, *German History as Racial Destiny*, Quelle & Meyer Publishing House, Leipzig 1934. Johann von Leers, *History on a Racial Basis*, Reclam, Leipzig 1934.

confession, but above all the Roman-Catholic faith, has become a matter of history. One could point out to these representatives the work of the Germans abroad in foreign Catholic cultural spheres, the great successes of so many significant German Catholic personalities who, despite years of separation from their German homeland, lost nothing of their national sentiment and whose lives could almost be called an apologia for the synthesis of Catholicism and nationality. But this line of evidence hardly touches the essence of the problematic and remains superficial; for even some Catholic German circles have, in recent years, expressed thoughts about Rome and Germandom, the Curia and Catholicism, in which a dangerous, eruptive force lies hidden. The main accusations raised from the Catholic nationalist camp against Rome are the following ²⁸⁷:

“Roman and Catholic is, with regard to the present form of the Catholic Church in the German cultural sphere, an inner contradiction. The Romanity of the Catholic Church today manifests itself in a far-reaching cultural entanglement of the ‘Catholic’ rite, life, and forms with Romanic nationality, Romanic culture, Roman law, and Roman-Oriental moral and religious sensibility. The self-evident dependence of individual national churches on a center of ecclesiastical unity, as fundamentally laid out in the idea of a Catholic Church, is today so overstretched by the centralization of the ecclesiastical bureaucracy in Rome that one can hardly speak of a German national church with a certain autonomy and independence in individual ecclesiastical matters, such as liturgy and discipline.

²⁸⁷ Albert Werminghoff, *National-Ecclesiastical Connections in the Middle Ages*, Stuttgart 1930; Ulrich Stutz, *The Eigenkirche as an Element of Medieval Germanic Church Law*, Berlin 1930; Karl Heinrich, *National Catholicism*, Hanseatic Publishing House, Hamburg; *German Catholicism in the Passing and Coming Reich* (written by Catholic [?] theologians), edited by Count E. Löwenthal, Reichswart Publishing House, Berlin 1932.

In a truly Catholic Christianity, no particular cultural sphere, neither the Romanic nor the Germanic nor any other, can claim or possess exclusive dominance.

The Catholicism of the present is, however, merely the Catholic form of the Romanic cultural sphere.

This centralizing urge of Rome results in an overemphasis on form and the formal, a prioritization of Roman spirit, and furthermore, a complete Italianization of the entire Roman Curia with a marginalization of all other nations in the administration of the world Church.

Through the Church itself, through its current system, the German human is denied justice. All reforms and creative ideas had to be forced upon the Church from outside through catastrophes, fought for, and carried into the Church. The Council of Trent, which responded to the German reformers and remains decisive to this day for many Catholic forms of piety, disciplinary regulations, and cultic provisions, was in reality a council of the Romanics. Since very few German bishops were present at the council, the reform efforts took on a predominantly Romanic character. Through their implementation, the Catholic Church, even in Germany, became in many respects a church of the Romanic cultural sphere.”

Since 1870, the legal unity in Catholicism has indeed been clearly expressed, but the inner unity of the Church was lost.

Through this overemphasis on formal law and external ecclesiastical authority, Catholicism appears in the imagination of believers (including broad segments of the clergy) more as a juridical construct, a power system held together by discipline, a hierarchically well-structured, purely bureaucratic administrative body, rather than as a community of divine grace and giving and receiving love. In the exaggeration of the legal and administrative, the ‘Catholic’ Church of today clearly shows its Roman face. Since everything is reduced to a uniform, smooth formula, the theological sciences of dogmatics, exegesis (scriptural interpretation), church history, and moral theology (ethics) suffer particularly.

For Roman-Catholic Christians, the domain of free, intellectual debate and research has been restricted to the utmost extreme (Index Reform).

The three forms in which the Church today outwardly takes shape—canon law, the treatment of doctrinal teachings, and liturgy—largely stem from the Romanic cultural sphere and must be perceived by Germanic people as foreign to the Nordic character.

The Roman-Catholic Church, under state-political pressure, has made significant concessions to the numerically insignificant Eastern and Slavic communities, such as the Copts, Syrians, Armenians, Maronites, Russians, Greeks, Croats, etc., in their pre-ecclesiastical endeavors, and has accommodated them from its Roman cultural and legal standpoint—why does the same not happen with regard to the German nation with its 40 million Catholics?

The Germanic religious and moral sensibility has, over the centuries, been deliberately suppressed by Rome for the purpose of uniformizing the world Church in a Romanic sense.

It is difficult to condense these *lamentationes nationis Germanicae*, as they are often called, which cut deeply and repeatedly resurface in the past century, into a few short formulas. A thorough treatment would be necessary to examine the accusations in detail. Only two thoughts may be highlighted here, which could serve as guiding points for the overall assessment of the problem of Rome and German Catholicism.

a) Roman culture and the Church are only contingently, not essentially, connected; therefore, Catholicism cannot be designated as the Roman-Latin form of Christianity. One might perhaps speak of an essential connection with regard to the philosophical foundational truths of ancient philosophy in its scholastic form, but even here, there are many aspects that do not necessarily need to be realized everywhere Christianity advances from religion to cultural synthesis. The Germanic spirit has also influenced the further development of Christianity, and German theology has not remained foreign to the universal Church but has contributed to shaping

the development of dogma, morals, and, in particular, canon law ²⁸⁸. Even before Boniface, when the Iro-Scottish Church, which emerged from the Celtic-Bretonic tradition, dominated Western Europe up to Longobardic southern Italy through the uniqueness of its organization and cultic language, the authority principle of the Cathedra Petri was mentally questioned or fundamentally rejected for national reasons. It must not be denied, however, that in recent centuries, many representatives of Christian overseas missions lacked the wisdom and missionary tact of a Boniface toward folkish heritage. The spread of Christianity to other continents was too closely tied to the export of cultural values, political, and economic goods of Europe, instead of preaching Christianity among overseas peoples in close connection with their nationality.

Since Christianity can align with any cultural sphere that does not already contain an error at its root, it must not be equated with any one of them. No cultural sphere, whether Romanic or Germanic, can claim or possess exclusive dominance in a world Church without sinning against the meaning of a religious community of peoples. Thus, Christianity is involved in all peoples and cultural spheres, enlivening, penetrating, purifying, and clarifying. A compelling apologia for the fruitfulness of Christianity in all cultural possibilities is folk custom, which, despite dogmatic commonality, differs significantly among Catholic nations between Germans, Romanics, and Slavs ²⁸⁹. Thus, individual and folk piety is by no means the same among

²⁸⁸ Cf. in the Codex Iuris Canonici the sections: Validity of Kinship, Eigenkirchenwesen, Vows, Bequests.

²⁸⁹ Cf. the excellent writings by Prelate Schröder, Münster; further Hans Boren, *Folk Customs in the Church Year. A Handbook*. 2nd edition, Anton Pustet Publishing House, Salzburg-Leipzig 1935. (With illustrations by L. Bombrowsky and an appendix of religious folk customs); Anton Dörner, *The German Soul in the Christian-German Folk Custom?*, Koesel-Pustet Publishing House, Munich 1935.

Both works are unusually a typology of Christianity against the “German Faith Movement,” and indeed a far better and more effective one than the theoretical

all peoples. This is precisely the greatness of a world Church: that each nation can build its own sanctuary within the central temple. One could further cite the magnificent theological works of the German Middle Ages, these witnesses to the unity of Catholic and national thought. Despite all polemics against Rome, the Catholic faith itself was never designated as an intrusion into foreign thought at that time.

When in our days the idea of a German national church is entertained, it is not infrequently with the opinion that confessions and churches arose only through the contentiousness and lust for power of theologians and priests, whereas in reality, despite flaws and human shadows, they are historically developed, spiritually long-prepared phenomena and must be judged as such. Time and again, people for whom religion is a fact of life will gather around a confession, a banner, and orient themselves by it.

But even if confessions were regarded as something historically developed, the pursuit of unity will not lead through new divisions, as a national church would bring, but rather through a closer alignment of faithful Catholics with Rome, to better assert the German cultural element against Romanism.

b) The national-church endeavors of the Middle Ages did not arise from supposed oppositions between Germanic and Romanic types of piety or national cultural spheres but were almost always political in nature. (Compare the struggle of Thomas More under Henry VIII.) It was the court theologians who accompanied every era, every political movement, and form of government as their apologists and natural opponents of Rome. These national-church endeavors are not least fueled by the claim that “the Germanic part of the Western family of peoples has repeatedly been mistreated by the Roman Curia and pushed back in favor of the Romanic,

writings and articles by Protestant theologians. Germanic “paganism” is not overcome through angry polemics but through loving recognition and cultivation of its natural truth content, as has always corresponded to every great pedagogical movement of the Catholic Church (Friedrich Geiler).

especially the Italian, part, which, moreover, today, in the climate of the fascist regime, succumbs to the ‘magic’ of hypernationalism.” Time and again, it is pointed out that the Romanic cultural sphere holds a dominant position in the leadership of the Church. Even if we could not dismiss the legitimacy of individual complaints, one thing must not be overlooked: the Church cannot be transformed into an international federation of peoples without being exposed to major upheavals. In an era of national jealousy, a passionate struggle for supreme leadership of the Curia would begin, endangering any calm, objective conduct of business. Whoever would reduce the world Church to the role of a federation of peoples, which, in the few years of its existence, has mostly encountered difficulties due to its cumbersome international apparatus without solving a single serious political problem, would be mistaken. (Compare the futile cries for help from minority peoples in Europe.) The dominance of the Romanic population segment in the Curia is explained by the location of the ecclesiastical center in Italy and by the current confessional statistics, according to which the Romanic element among the millions of Catholics worldwide significantly outweighs the German-Germanic and Slavic elements (Italy, France, Spain, South America, Canada). North America is a mixture of peoples and races from which no distinct nationality has yet emerged. Its many millions of Catholics, in terms of cultic language and religious expression, are to be counted as part of the Romanic cultural sphere.

No loyal son of the Church will want to ignore its shadows ²⁹⁰, but he will never forget that the Church, regardless of which cultural sphere—Germanic, Romanic, or Slavic—currently holds dominance, contains two elements: a divine one, which protects it from collapse and rigidity in formalisms through the presence of the Holy Spirit in the

²⁹⁰ In this sense, despite loyal ecclesiastical sentiment, the blessed Clemens Maria Hofbauer complained in the days of the Metternich state absolutism: “I do not understand the Germans.” (Quoted after Ernst Karl Winter, Anton Günther in *Journal for the Entire Political Science*, 88, 1930, p. 328.)

apostolic ministry of Christ's vicar and the bishops associated with him, as well as through strong, religiously guiding personalities granted to it from time to time, or through persecutions, from which it has always emerged, even if often numerically weakened, yet inwardly deepened; and a human, often all-too-human one, which comes and goes with history and thus partakes in all the weaknesses and frailties inherent in everything human. If Germanism has been significantly pushed back in influence within the universal Church, it is not least a consequence of the German Reformation, for until the 16th century, the German element often had a predominant influence in many pontificates, which was later taken over by the Romanics²⁹¹. It must be repeatedly emphasized that Luther's Reformation, which had to take place within the Church, inflicted the deepest wound on the German people, both internally and externally, politically, and introduced a process of dissolution into Christianity itself. Sacrificial cooperation in the great tasks of the Church can slowly compensate for this damage, but not the endeavor to separate further parts of the German people from the ancient mother Church, to which Germany owes its Christianization, on the basis of uncertain national cultural sphere constructions and racial dogmas. The German has not had a millennium of Christian culture only to sink back today into the folkish darkness of a national-church Christianity. Just as we apply the incarnation of Christianity to the doctrine of race and not vice versa, so too must we say that Christianity does not owe its enduring values to Germanic or Romanic influences, but rather Christianity first brought true formation to both. Whoever, therefore, truly means well for the German people should hold fast to the cultural-political program of National Socialism, which is built on the fact of confessions, and ensure that this attempt to found a "Rome-free" German church or any other so-called national church belongs to the past as soon as possible. Such a new foundation would only lead to a life-and-death struggle for the old churches, including the Protestant ones, create a third confession alongside

²⁹¹ Cf. my book, *German Cultural Work in Italy*, Aschenborff Publishing House, Münster 1934.

the two existing ones, and tear apart the German folk community forever without any lasting or real gain.

IV. CONCLUSION

Fascism. — Bolshevism. — Christian National Socialism

The supreme law of every intellectual-historical consideration of spiritual currents is the exploration of connections, for there is no break between the 19th and 20th centuries, only shifts. The struggle of liberalism runs through the centuries in constantly changing forms, but it is always the same struggle, which, by its nature, will never cease, because there is a political and cultural liberalism whose forms succeed one another in history. The former has been organizationally overcome by National Socialism, but the latter, which extends from the second half of the 19th century into our present, could only be eradicated through a deepened Christianity from the German spiritual life. As Marxism, the wayward son of political and cultural liberalism, went bankrupt in the Reich, a noticeable wave of religious sensitivity swept through the masses, which it had previously spiritually impoverished with its godlessness. This upsurge must not run aground on the sandbank of a new salvation doctrine conceived as a substitute for Christianity. Therefore, every attempt to build a separate philosophy or worldview of National Socialism, as the latest work of the Königsberg professor Hans Heyse also proves ²⁹², ends in pure this-worldliness, whereby it is entirely overlooked or deliberately concealed that the purest this-worldliness is represented by Bolshevism. This deification of the world, invoking alleged Greek and Nordic spirituality or the misunderstood or falsely interpreted National Socialist party program, increases the general conceptual confusion, obscures clear fronts, and endangers the inner peace of our German people.

National Socialism is no accident, not the invention of individual men, by no means a radical upheaval, but has long been prepared in the German essence and its development. It belongs firmly to the streambed of German history and is rooted in its past.

²⁹² Idea and Existence. Hanseatic Publishing House, Hamburg 1936.

Rosenberg rightly says that National Socialism brings no absolutely new ideas ²⁹³. Here, too, the saying of Ecclesiastes 1:10 applies: “There is nothing new under the sun, and no one can say: behold, this is new, for it has long been in the times that went before us.” One could find parallels in the German intellectual history of the 19th century for many things of our day ²⁹⁴. But in any case, in the national awakening of the Third Reich, there is the skillful concentration and systematic integration of pre-existing philosophical, religious, and historical ideas with the national political unity idea, which, in itself, did not necessarily have to be linked to worldview elements. But since the idea of race and nationality forms the centerpiece of the entire National Socialist system, one might be tempted to say with Will Vesper ²⁹⁵ that “National Socialism is the simplest idea in the world.”

But the matter is not so simple, for the currently leading National Socialist writers and the pioneering intellectual figures, to whom the former owe many of their ideas, often speak past one another and also past the party program. They speak with the same words, but different concepts are attached to them, even though they outwardly seem to mean the same thing. We must, therefore, first eliminate the conceptual ambiguity created by German philosophy of the last decades and restore the true meaning to the words and concepts of blood, faith, worldview, race, people, and nation, in order to arrive at a fundamental stance toward National Socialism at all.

Not only in distant, abstract epochs but also in the intellectual life that lies irresponsibly close to us, we must seek the causes. All essential elements of National Socialism appear earlier, and almost all ideas that seemed revolutionary around 1933 were already present in embryonic form

²⁹³ The Essential Structure of National Socialism, pp. 5–19.

²⁹⁴ Cf. the glorification of Ulrich von Hutten by the German Catholic movement of Bonges (Treitschke, German History, Vol. II, p. 693).

²⁹⁵ Journal Die neue Literatur, January 1934.

in the 1890s. At that time, the crisis of German religious consciousness in the educated world also set in and has had its effect up to the present. This religious crisis, which today shakes the German human, was not brought about by National Socialism. As a latent phenomenon, it was present long before, above all in Protestantism (alienation of the masses and the educated world from the church). It is the dissolution process of liberal Protestantism, in which the religion of Christ, in complete contrast to Luther's religiosity, sank to history and theology to a science ²⁹⁶.

Since the Hungarian David Friedrich Strauss, with his *Life of Jesus* (1835) and *The Old and New Faith* (1872), shook the foundations of Christian belief in Protestantism, this crisis has never ceased, for Strauss exerted a profound influence on descendants, including Nietzsche's stance toward Christianity.

For every religious-cultural assertion in leading National Socialist literature, one could find a parallel in a liberal theology professor (Harnack, Delitzsch, Drews, Gregmann, Dunkel). Philosophically and literarily, this turning point was thus prepared. The Nordic-Germanic element and the race question also had their defenders. Thus, one day, this crisis had to erupt. National Socialism, with its eruptive force, merely had the task of the detonator.

The recognition of the connections in which this new world emerged leads to an open and free examination of the guilt that the outgoing generation bears for this collapse. Questions of this *nostra culpa* would be: Did Europe, through the peace treaties of Versailles and St. Germain, which are names for a metaphysical crime against the German people and thus against the entire West, essentially confirm the radicalism of the oppressed German nation? Did not every treaty that recognized these forms already carry within it the seed of new unrest? On the other hand, was the great national idea burdened with so much worldview ballast to even reach the German? The great lesson of the time, through which the eternal shines,

²⁹⁶ Gerhard Mühlmann, *Theology at the Crossroads*, J. C. Mohr Publishing House, Tübingen 1935.

would have to be the purification and return from the superfluous, the becoming Pharisaical for the blessings of Christianity in the Germanic cultural sphere, and the courage to focus on the essential.

With every revolutionary movement in history, misconceptions and the outbursts of irresponsible elements have always been associated. No statesman or political leader can prevent aspirations, long latent and partly already outdated but hitherto hidden in obscurity, from pushing into the public sphere during a time of transformation, believing that their hour of harvest has arrived. This danger was all the greater with National Socialism, into which millions of Marxists transitioned without any evidence of educational efforts among these masses in the sense of a positive Christianity. Yet, the task of all truly Christian and German-thinking men and women is all the more responsible and sacred: to confront this danger everywhere with a commitment to the essential, to curb the intrusion of a cultural liberalism, and, through self-sacrificing work despite all disappointments, to clear the path for a Christian-National Socialist constructive effort, so that accompanying phenomena and excesses cannot be elevated to essential components of the National Socialist program. National Socialism further raises a claim to totality, the demand for the complete penetration of all aspects of national life, and thus claims to be a worldview. Many supporters saw in this claim the seed of an inevitable conflict with the historically given Christianity and a clouding of the friendship with the Catholic Church established by the Concordat. A prolonged conflict between the national uprising, which is of decisive importance for the entire West beyond the German Reich, and the historically given religion would, however, not only be catastrophic for the German Reich but, in view of the Bolshevik threat, an immense danger for the entire Western culture.

According to the Bolshevik program announced in January 1924, this conflict belongs to the prerequisites of the communist advance in Europe. Whoever seeks to eliminate it is therefore working against the communist upheaval. In clear anticipation of these developmental possibilities, Adolf Hitler warned against the conflation of national politics with the religious

crisis and declared those who commit this error to be the greatest enemies of the German people (*Mein Kampf*, p. 113), branding the destroyers of the historically given as fools and criminals as long as nothing better is found (p. 294), condemning the old “Away from Rome” movement on the grounds that the religious teachings and institutions of a people must be inviolable to a political leader (p. 127), and equating an attack on a religion’s doctrinal system with an attack on the legal foundations of the state, as the former leads to political anarchy and the latter to worthless religious nihilism (p. 631).

On the other hand, since every era strives to develop a unified spiritual form from a comprehensive intellectual situation, the question arises for the present generation: Is it possible to combine the knowledge and will of the present with the great spiritual and religious tradition of the West? Because we believe in the value and absolute necessity of this connection between Christianity and Germandom and fight for it, we unequivocally stand on the ground of the statements of the leader of the German revolution. Should this synthesis fail due to human inadequacy, then severe spiritual upheavals would loom: in that case, according to human foresight, the Bolshevik revolution would, as the most radical, take over historical leadership until, through counterforces that might no longer need to emerge from the Western cultural sphere, a new equilibrium was formed. We, as Christians, believe that this new equilibrium would also be determined by Christianity, though it is conceivable that this Christianity would no longer have its center in Europe. But these are distant perspectives. Our immediate task, in any case, lies in fighting for Germandom and Christianity in the West.

It would therefore significantly contribute to calming minds if the concepts of totality and worldview were clarified. Totality as a program means the complete dominance of an idea over all areas of life. This is initially a very general formula that derives its concrete content only from the vital interests of the nation itself. The totality of the state could, for example, lead to an interpretation that would endanger the vital interests of the German people if other nations raised the same demand and, in the

name of totality, a non-German state destroyed the physical and spiritual existence of a German ethnic group. Against this interpretation of state totality, German ethnic groups in the Central European space rightly defend themselves today, and National Socialist theorists of ethnic rights have therefore declared nationality the foundational substance of history. In contrast, the idea of totality was entirely justified in another sense, namely in the sense of uniting all national forces toward what is most important in the German nation's struggle for self-preservation, such as legal and military equality among peoples, the recovery of the Saar region, job creation, the reorganization of the Reich, and similar matters.

The word worldview, as already explained in Chapter III, Section 2, is used in a broader and a stricter sense. In the broader sense, it also denotes a political stance, the alignment of the entire personality toward concrete goals; in the stricter sense, it refers to the totality of thoughts about the purpose of humanity. When one speaks today of a National Socialist worldview and adheres to the previously cited words of the leader of the German uprising, a National Socialist worldview can only be understood as a political-sociological system, with an emphasis on practical-ethical issues. If the word worldview is indeed used only in this broader sense, there is nothing to object to in this designation. The term becomes problematic only when it is meant to denote a doctrinal system that would answer the entirety of questions about the origin and interconnectedness of the soul of the universe and the position of humanity.

In my book, it is not sensation-seeking rally speakers who are given a voice, who thrive on radicalisms in all parties, but leading literary figures of National Socialism who defend their worldview like a theology with seriousness, iron consistency, and irresistible determination. These men spoke to us in their own language. Viewed from a high intellectual-historical perspective, this worldview, which some representatives today link with National Socialism, is the necessary consequence of the religious dissolution process in Europe, which began in the mid-19th century and affected Protestantism more than the Catholic Church. This can be designated as materialism, which has penetrated all

areas of culture (historiography, medicine, philosophy, legal concepts, social issues). The 20th century reaped the fruits of the aberrations of Marxism. Would it not, therefore, be deeply regrettable if, in National Socialism, which seeks to finally grant the German people a unified national state idea after centuries, religious, philosophical, and historical errors of cultural liberalism were to destroy this national idea, so that at the end of the entire development, if it is not timely redirected into other channels, not a positive Christianity but an un-Christian state would stand, in which the religion of Christ would no longer be a life-shaping, culture-creating force but an archaism of bygone times?

In Catholic and Protestant circles, the political has not always been separated from the worldview element in National Socialism. It was further believed that these endeavors were merely about combating the deeply regrettable confessional division of our German people, which was to be overcome by a stronger emphasis on the three concepts of race, nation, and folk community, whereas in reality, it concerns fundamental questions of Christianity as soon as politics also encompasses the worldview. Therefore, in various works of the classical leadership literature of National Socialism, the worldview paths of the 19th century are found in a concise formulation. If this reform program, which in every way contradicts Article 24 of the National Socialist program, were to be instilled in the hearts of German youth for even ten years in that seductive guise and in that captivating expression of modern nationalism, which today increasingly grips all peoples of the earth, then Christianity would lose the rising generation in Europe, but find no youth among its opponents. This would also resolve the question of associations and organizations automatically. Therefore, the axe must be laid at the root to separate the great national idea from worldview endeavors with which it has nothing to do. In other words, the essential in National Socialism must be recognized and valued in its impact on a Christian Germany. Two things must be carefully distinguished. National Socialism in itself is a political movement that, as long as the means do not violate natural law and moral law, does not belong before the forum of the Church in its effort to unite Germans in the European space. Whether these

Germans, scattered across many states, cut off from the majority, and often violated in their natural rights to their mother tongue and culture, will one day come together to create a great empire that determines Europe's fate, as the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation did for centuries, would, under the aforementioned conditions, initially have nothing to do with religious matters.

An entirely different picture emerges, however, when one considers the following words of a leading figure in this context ²⁹⁷:

“Everything is overshadowed by the worldview confrontation, at the beginning of which we now stand. A great movement can only prevail in the long term if it possesses a firm worldview foundation, if certain value judgments arise from this worldview that give all areas their characteristic imprint. That this worldview is therefore fought with particular vehemence by those who believed they only had to act politically is understandable given the magnitude of the historical turning point. Here, it is particularly important to shape the foundations of the National Socialist worldview with inner clarity and unwavering tenacity through the collective training of all sections of the movement, to solidify inner unity and cohesion, and to uncompromisingly educate the youth for the great tasks of the German future.”

If National Socialism is thus understood in the sense of a worldview system, as various works in its leading literature strive for, in contrast to the program, then those supporters who, despite their national stance, are and wish to remain loyal, convinced Christians are entitled to have a say, not merely for dogmatic reasons, but because it concerns matters that, if not curbed in time, would inevitably weaken the national idea in its conquering momentum and moral expansive force in the German sphere for the long term. Fascism also suffers from some worldview ambiguities in philosophical and state-political areas, but this accompanying phenomenon does not always manifest strongly, as the Romanic, unlike the German,

²⁹⁷ National Socialist Monthly, September issue, 1934.

often lacks the systematic and iron consistency in thought and action to the advantage of their own nation ²⁹⁸.

Thus, everything grows into a struggle for the deepest essence of National Socialism itself. Does the national idea, which in itself is a necessary and sacred cause, truly have a future only if it is linked with a pantheistic worldview in the sense of Goethe, or will it succeed in returning it to that great line which Hitler himself, as the sole authorized interpreter of the movement, outlined in his work *Mein Kampf* for the relationship between religion and politics?

To many, National Socialism appears as the beginning of a European turning point, in which the hitherto “Romanic” cultural leadership of the continent is to be replaced by a Germanic one, as the breakthrough phenomenon of all endeavors that, through Luther, Frederick the Great, Goethe, Kant, and the German Romanticism, carry strong anti-Roman affects, as a movement in which politics and economics are secondary to the awakening of the Germanic human, who sees their religion in forming a worldview from their own essence, “free from centuries-old tutelage of a Roman culture.” But must a national-political awakening of Germanism truly signify a necessary antithesis to Catholicism? Thus, the muddled professors’ religion of Germanic neo-paganism, like every religious and racial-historical worldview neo-construction, is the Achilles’ heel of National Socialism.

The phrase “a spirit of reformation blows in Germany” is therefore misplaced. It misses the essential, as the ultimate goals of the intellectual confrontations of cultural liberalism reach far deeper. Equally false is the notion that in this struggle, only Catholicism would be harmed. After a few years of the new worldview’s impact, Luther’s intellectual world, and thus

²⁹⁸ Through the new reform of the Reich Ministry of Education, the philosophical education of high school youth also seems to be directed into different channels.

the Reformation Church, would also dissolve into nothing in the German people ²⁹⁹.

National Socialism is by no means equivalent to the Bolshevism ³⁰⁰ of the East, even if it shares various state-organizational elements with it, such as the claim to totality, which here seeks to encompass people, the impossibility of distinguishing between state and party will, the monopoly on public propaganda, and the belief in the central importance of political-social order and power, which is elevated to the centerpiece of all existence. But while Russian Bolshevism is essentially anti-religious and devalues the concept of family ³⁰¹, National Socialism, according to Article 24 of its program, seeks to remain on religious ground, even if the concept of religion is not entirely taken in the sense of tradition, but all intellectual and religious contents appear more from political perspectives. Undoubtedly, certain danger points are associated with this, as in every political, cultural, and religious movement in history, a left and a right wing

²⁹⁹ Noteworthy are the following statements in the journal for a Nordic faith movement: *Flame Sign*, 8, 1934, No. 39, Leonberg, Stuttgart: "Spiritually speaking, the Gothic cathedrals that stand in the space of Europe must appear to us more or less as ruins, in which, however, certain religious emotional contents still and perhaps for a long time to come find expression, but which never and under no circumstances have the power to build something new, which live on like a memory of past times, but no longer have a formative and liberating force. The counter-religion of Mithraism no longer takes Western Christianity seriously, and rightly so, for from here no danger threatens it anymore."

³⁰⁰ Waldemar Gurian, *Bolshevism as a World Danger*, Via-nova Publishing House, Lucerne 1935, and *Bolshevism, Introduction to History and Doctrine*, Herder Publishing House, Freiburg 1931.

³⁰¹ Valuable thoughts on family and marriage, partly felt in a Christian way, are expressed by Volkmar Grimm, *The New Germany. Transition and Ascent*, *National Socialist Monthly*, 22, 1931, pp. 1–19.

vie for sole dominance. This is an eternal law of history from which no movement has yet escaped. While the right wing still thinks in national-Christian conservative ideas, others strive for a kind of deification of humanity—not as an individual personality, but in the folk community—a throne-elevation of the political-social, the nation, and race to the absolute, to divine power, to the sole bearer and expression of a national mythos. Thus, behind National Socialism, as soon as it empties the concept of positive Christianity of its logical-worldview content and reverts to cultural liberalism, lurks the same danger, because in both movements, the reduction of all human activity to the struggle for power is the connecting element.

National Socialism is also by no means a Germanic fascism but is distinguished from it by the elevation of the concepts of race and people to the highest values, even though the fascist ideal could influence the national movement of Germany in many aspects of its heroic and state-political life conception ³⁰². Fascism, despite Mussolini's conceptualization ³⁰³, is not a substitute for religion, not a worldview in the sense of a religious politics, but a battle stance against Rousseau and the equality and popular sovereignty proclaimed in 1789. Some researchers claim: Italianness and Catholicity together form the actual totality of fascism. The Germanic individual, however, has not yet found a balance in all German tribes between their religious soul and Catholicism, which also contains elements

³⁰² Peter Burger, *Fascism and National Socialism, a Comparison of the Intellectual Foundations*, Reinhold Publishing House, Vienna 1934; Dr. Palfechi, *Modern Italy. Political World History Since 1900*, Hanseatic Publishing House, Hamburg 1934; Otto Bangert, *German Revolution. A Book on the Struggle for the Third Reich?*, pp. 168–173, Franz Eher Publishing House, Munich 1933.

³⁰³ "Fascism is a religious worldview, in which man is seen in his inherent relation to a higher law, to an objective knowledge, which transcends the individual and raises him to the consciousness of his spiritual community." Vol. 14 of the *Italian Encyclopedia*. Mussolini's Fascism partly aligns with the "concept of the political" of Carl Schmitt.

of the Roman cultural world. In intellectual-historical terms, National Socialism as a spiritual current is closer to the Action Française, with which it shares various teachings rejected by the Church ³⁰⁴. Thus, toward National Socialism, it is not a fundamental rejection or a purely negative stance, thinking in the political categories of a bygone era, or a resignation to the positive Christianity established in the party program. Only in serious work to free this unique revolutionary movement in the German people from elements that must not be intrinsically linked with the concept of nation and the social idea lies the fate of the German future in Europe. The sooner this separation of the political from the worldview is undertaken, the faster peace will return to the German people, and with it, the danger of a new intrusion of Bolshevik currents, which wait for internal political difficulties of an economic nature to replace the legacy of a sinking National Socialism, which was called to greatness in German history, with a reign of terror.

No one in the Catholic camp denies the positive, great, and lasting aspects that lie in this movement, which has touched upon new problems and raised questions that Christianity must address to find a modern synthesis of Germandom and faith.

German Catholics are filled with the best intentions to affirm the new Germany, provided its construction, in its return, is not merely a departure from political but also from cultural liberalism; for, throughout history, worldview liberalism has always been the breeding ground for later political upheavals. Communism and Marxism did not grow strong in those parts of Germany that were still firmly connected to Christianity in their worldview, but everywhere where the entire ecclesiastical life of Catholics and Protestants had been dried up by liberalism decades earlier. The Reich-German Catholics, in their loyalty to people and Reich, are surpassed by no one and affirm the National Socialist revolution, which was a judgment on the era of individualistic separation and dissolution, a return

³⁰⁴ Hans Naumann, *Charles Maurras and the Worldview of the Action Française* (Studies and Bibliography on Contemporary Philosophy, Vol. 13), S. Hirzel Publishing House, Leipzig.

to the eternal divine creative order, to the blood and fate community of the Germans, and to the folkish essence. They see in this movement the powerful unification and consolidation of state-bearing forces, a strong leadership responsibility, in which the liberal-democratic fiction of the people's self-governance has been displaced.

The path, however, to avoid damaging the national unity idea despite the aberrations of left-radical elements, is only that which fascism has also taken, which initially absorbed dangerous doctrines but later, through skillful tactics, dismantled the intrusion of the worldview ideas of the philosopher Gentile, because they were not useful but, in the long run, utterly harmful to the party's ultimate goal of folk community and the unity of all state citizens.

The Italian Society for Philosophy, under the leadership of Giuslano, has launched a campaign against Gentile's idealism to prove that Gentile's worldview is not the only one compatible with fascism, as Gentile himself sought to demonstrate ten years ago. The new Italian philosophy will place personality at the forefront and be animated by religious spirit. If we apply these observations to German National Socialism, we arrive at the following thoughts:

The more the mythical element of clarity recedes in the National Socialist movement, the sooner it can become the great national Christian unity party of the Germans, overcoming all inhibitions and differences, allowing each individual to find happiness and peace of heart in their religious worldview. Only then would permanence and the future be secured, and every conflict of conscience eliminated, particularly rendering superfluous the question of whether a convinced Christian can, with a clear conscience, also be and remain a convinced supporter of this party without coming into conflict with the teachings of their religion.

The National Socialist movement, which in its beginnings was merely a rallying point for various conservative, progressive, and national tendencies, so to speak, a protest movement, loses much of its original inner cohesive force through worldview radicalisms, especially among Germans abroad.

The national and racial idea, as the preceding sections have explained, would in itself be compatible with Christianity, as long as these foundational dogmas are not extended into the religious sphere—a danger that is all the more threatening because, since the movement's inception on Austrian soil, strong anti-ecclesiastical and later anti-Christian affects have resonated within it. Eliminating or at least curbing these is a matter of fate for every German-feeling individual.

If the National Socialist movement does not proceed from purely state-political considerations to follow the paths of fascism to overcome this worldview inner crisis, then those who designate the essence of National Socialism as anti-Christianity will be proven right, expecting nothing good from it for all of Europe ³⁰⁵. It would be an immense loss, however, if a movement that initially exerted such tremendous impact were ultimately to waste away in its conquering drive due to superfluous worldview struggles and confrontations, instead of spiritually arming the cultural and fateful interconnectedness of all Germans against a world of enemies of German heritage and future. The national unity idea must not be obscured by worldview neo-constructions that destroy all Christian cultural heritage and rob religious peace. Only thus can the danger be avoided that the entire movement ultimately ends in a pure materialism without soul-culture.

Much has been said about a *limes Romanus*, whose components also include many religious-cultural phenomena of German history in their transient power. Perhaps one can also speak of an Elbe line, which might have no less significance for the religious development of the German people. Great movements like National Socialism are not only the conclusion of decades-long preparatory work on the ideas of the past but also a serious examination of conscience for the bearers of Christianity in

³⁰⁵ Henri Caselles, *Église et État en Allemagne, de Weimar aux premières années du III. Reich*, Rousseau & Cie., Paris 1936, takes a moderate stance without polemics; the writing of the Italian Mario Bendiscioli, *Germania religiosa nel III. Reich*, Morcelliana, Brescia 1936, moves on a similar line.

Europe, whether they were not partly responsible, through national exaggerations in other states, for the fact that the German nation had to arrive at a radicalized conception of the folkish idea. National Socialism is also a question to all sincerely minded people in the German-speaking world, whether they were always truly committed in the past to working toward that balance between Christian and national life conceptions, which the Church of a Boniface and Charlemagne achieved in such an admirable way.

Where is the Christian idea in international law still to be found in Europe today? Where in the financial economy of states? Is there still a significant difference between the state-political moral conceptions and diplomatic working methods of European peoples with centuries of Christianization and those of purely pagan nations? Why is it that the national idea overruns all previous conceptions among all peoples and can inspire the youth in an almost fanatical form? Has the Christian religion lost its conquering power in the life of peoples? Has thinking and acting from Christian heritage become the privilege of a few circles of spiritually particularly sensitive individuals, while the secularization of public and private life, which has grown to alarming proportions since the mid-19th century, encompasses all areas?

Thus, because Christianity, even after 20 centuries, remains and must remain the living source of strength, a modern synthesis of Christian, social, and national ideas remains the great goal, whose realization would truly be worth the sweat of the noblest of the German people. The cultural philosopher Richard von Kralik, who himself, during his Berlin studies as a young man under the influence of Treitschke, was drawn to ideas that today are partly designated as National Socialist, was one of the first, in the nationally particularly turbulent time of the 1890s, to recognize and value this connection and harmonization of ancient, Christian, and Germanic culture. For him, who in many ways was ahead of his time, the high Germandom remained the pinnacle of German formation and education, which he never abandoned despite his Christian convictions. Such paths have nothing to do with bridge-builders who, without first considering the

decisive works of the classical leadership literature and, above all, the spiritual precursors of this movement, and without separating the political from the later worldview intrusion, sought to discover connections between National Socialism and Christianity everywhere. The goal of nationally and Christian-religiously conscious individuals must be entirely different, namely a National Socialist movement that restricts itself to the purely political and leaves worldview-pastoral work to the authorized representatives of the two confessions, in other words: an essentially Christian National Socialism, in which the race dogma is removed from the cultural sphere and limited to the field of hygiene and social folk welfare ³⁰⁶, without aspiring to be a worldview that, for the deeply feeling individual, could in no way suffice as a substitute for religion and Christianity. Just as the secularization and politicization of religion must be avoided, so too must any religionization of a political program.

The only possibility in a confessionally mixed state system is this path, which leaves religion outside the political program with that limitation to extra-ecclesiastical areas determined by the religious conscience. Therefore, Catholics and Protestants must fundamentally reject the overextension of the concepts of nation and folk community that aims at the complete destruction of confessionality, as the latter allegedly makes the national unification of the German people impossible or at least more difficult. The old German imperial army never suffered in its glorious history, least of all in the World War, in its national patriotic reliability,

³⁰⁶ The words of the then Vicar General Msgr. von Pappen in Gleiwitz (1934) have not lost any of their relevance even after two years: "Against racial research and racial care, which aim to keep the character of a people as pure as possible and to awaken the sense for the people's community, there is certainly nothing to object to. This love for one's own race will never degenerate into hatred against other peoples or races. That is the decisive factor, and never must this racial care be brought into conflict with Christianity, for race and Christianity are not opposites, but merely different orders. Christianity has only made a German people out of the German tribes, and it is truly not necessary to first establish a new Nordic-Germanic religion to confess our peoplehood."

even though the soldiers belonged to both confessions. The evangelical professor Fabricius, whose work was particularly mentioned in the foreword and who has rendered great service to the National Socialist movement, rightly says that one must here build on the tradition of the German army. What camaraderie did not disrupt there cannot do so in the National Socialist associations or elsewhere in the people. "For nothing contributes so much to the reassurance of the fellow citizen as knowing that he can freely cultivate his inherited sanctities, continue to ponder his pious thoughts, and live on in his faith community. Conversely, nothing embitters him more than when he sees his holiest things endangered or when he even has to fear that they might be at risk."

Nothing is therefore as important, also in the interest of the non-Reich German nationality in Europe, as pursuing these paths. If this separation does not succeed, then the ancient power struggle between Church and state begins anew, at which the medieval imperial idea was shattered, but the Church also received severe wounds, to make way for the modern human type, who increasingly detaches areas of cultural life from religion and pushes religion back into the last chamber of conscience, until one day he arrives at Bolshevism, this final consequence of our time.

In times of great intellectual confrontations and conceptual confusions, the old German proverb applies: In clarity lies the truth. In the feverish glow of a political turning point, Spalding is right when he writes: "The most dangerous thing for humanity is the dominion of obscure concepts." In an era that stormily stirs the depths of the German soul and uproots all barriers, no compromise, no diplomatic worldly finesse and tactics will save, but only conviction and manly resolve toward Christ and the nation. I do not believe that National Socialism, with only the values of people, blood, and race, will banish the danger from the East ³⁰⁷, comparable to the Mongol hordes of the 13th century, that seeks to break over Europe, for Bolshevism is not merely a political movement and economic theory but

³⁰⁷ Unlike Alfred Rosenberg, *Crisis and Rebirth of Europe*, Lecture at the People's Congress in Rome (November 16, 1932).

the threatening symbol of the collapse of a thousand-year-old world in Europe, which no longer seems to have the strength to combine Christianity and modern political forms in a new synthesis.

In this sense, one could apply to the leaders of National Socialist Germany the words with which the oldest document of German jurisprudence and one of the most remarkable monuments of Germanic spirit, the Lex Salica from the years 508 to 511, concludes its prologue: "May Christ, who loves the Franks, live, protect their Reich into all eternity! And grant their leaders the light of His grace and their armies His protection!"

Only through the clarification of concepts does one best serve Christianity, the Church, the national idea, and thus the entire German nationality. The German people still have a great task to fulfill in Europe, to become the firm bulwark against the errors of the East, which, like the specters of Walpurgis Night, threaten Western culture. How much, therefore, must every loyal son of his people and the Church desire this clarification, which can only be a blessing for the Reich, the movement, and the inner peace of the German nation.

The final result of my intellectual-historical investigation, which has become a word for a cultural-political confession, can thus be no other for a nationally conscious German who still wishes to hold fast to the foundations of Christianity and protect his people from a pantheistic religious substitute than the following:

If National Socialism is merely a political-social problem, then there is no reason for Catholics, who in their love and loyalty to state and nation are surpassed by no one, not to be loyal, unreserved supporters of this movement. Precisely German Catholicism and the believing Protestantism standing in the confessional church would bring to the National Socialist party the most valuable and sacrificial forces, which, even in hours of danger and internal political tensions, will remain steadfast, unlike those circles that yesterday were still communists and international, homeland-less elements, who never contributed anything to Germanism and today, to the detriment of the entire cause, boast of a hundred-percent National Socialism.

But if National Socialism is equated with a new worldview elevated to dogma, in which a surplus of errors from past decades is assembled into a dazzling, particularly youth-fascinating mythos, then silence and waiting would be an assent and a denial of faith. The Church can forgo associations and organizations, even the economic support of the state, as painful as that would be if, in an over-organized state system, these means were wrested from religion, but it can never forgo its eternal mission to be and remain the beacon of truth in calm times, and even more so in stormy, turbulent times like the present. Here, an apostolic word applies: "We must obey God rather than men," and that which Rome has so often spoken over the centuries against numerous heretics: *Non possumus!* (We cannot!)

VI. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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